AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 110

PASCAL GUYOT/AFP

Refugees Find Rest in Tuzla, Bosnia

As United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher seeks consensus on Western action to stop the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, refugees such as these former residents of Srebrenica continue to flee Serbian 'ethnic cleansing.' At the same time, there are indications Bosnian Serbs are evicting Muslims from enclaves across the border inside Serbia as well. **PAGE 6.**

Babbitt Wades Into the Debate On Western Land

Ranchers resist call of 'green' groups to hike grazing fees, impose strict land management

By Brad Knickerbocker

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

RENO, NEV.

IN his travels around the West, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is confronting a set of traditions that have helped define America. And in a series of meetings on the future of public-lands ranching, Mr. Babbitt also is taking on a controversial issue with complex economic, environmental, and cultural dimensions.

The immediate question is this: Are ranchers who graze their livestock on millions of acres of federally owned land paying too little?

Critics say the $1.86 paid per "animal unit month" is far below what is paid by private leaseholders. (An animal unit is one cow and calf, one horse, or five sheep. The fee is based on a formula that includes the cost of production and commodity prices.) What is needed, says Rep. Mike Synar (D) of Oklahoma, is "a good dose of free enterprise."

While most of the 30,000 or so Western ranching operations are small, family-owned businesses earning about $28,000 a year, the largest are corporations – including oil and insurance companies, feedlot operators, foreign-owned meat producers, and wealthy absentee owners. The General Accounting Office reported last week that the largest 500 permitholders control 29 million acres

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Russian Hard-Liners Shift Tactics, Take Confrontation to the Streets

Riots may indicate new opposition strategy to fight Yeltsin's reforms

By Justin Burke

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

REJECTED at the ballot box, President Boris Yeltsin's nationalist opponents are turning to violence in their battle over Russia's future political and economic course.

The May Day melee at Moscow's Gagarin Square – in which an estimated 500 police and demonstrators suffered injuries – marked a significant shift in the irreconcilable opposition's tactics. Realizing that a solid majority of the electorate backs Mr. Yeltsin and his economic policies, as seen in the April 25 referendum results, the opposition seems to be abandoning hope of achieving its goals through democratic means.

"The [May 1] riot signifies the activization of violent action," says Tatyana Shavshukova, a political scientist at Moscow's Research Institute for Politics and Humanities. "It was a probing action to test the [administration's] forces."

Yeltsin aides have condemned the National Salvation Front (NSF), which includes various nationalist and neocommunist groups, for inciting the riot. An opposition statement termed the melee a police provocation, adding that Yeltsin is seeking "authoritarian rule."

The NSF and other nationalist groups call Yeltsin's reforms "a sellout to the West." They want reforms to incorporate the communal traditions of pre-Soviet Russia.

Opposition leaders are undaunted by the prospect of further clashes with authorities. They are already warning that celebrations May 9, a holiday marking Russia's defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, could end in a conflict more violent than May Day's.

"May 9 begins today," Viktor Anpilov, leader of the Russian

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Republicans Use Economy As Focus to Rebuild Party

By Max Boot

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

MANY Republicans have been walking with a spring in their step and a smile on their faces lately. The cause of their glee? All the setbacks – ranging from the defeated stimulus package to record-low approval ratings – that President Clinton faced during his early days in office.

But just after the last presidential election, the atmosphere within GOP ranks was quite different. Bitter finger-pointing was the order of the day as conservatives and moderates blamed each other for the loss of the White House. A lot of personal invective was tossed around, with some of the sharpest words coming from erstwhile presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, who denounced "big government" conservatives like Bush Cabinet member Jack Kemp.

As memories of the election have faded so has some of the feuding. **(Interview with GOP chairman, Page 3.)** Texas Rep. Dick Armey, the No. 3 House Republican, compares the GOP today to a football team that is just recovering from a defeat.

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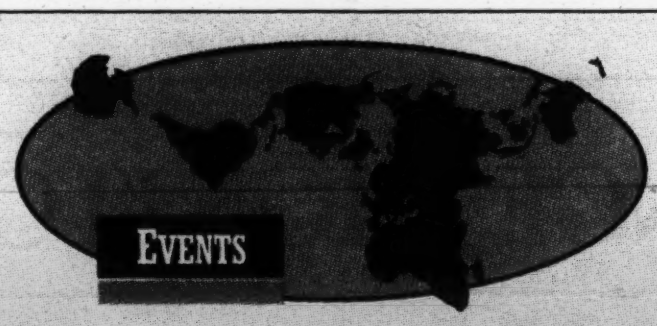
Reviving An Old Building Craft

A Maine company's timber-frame structures are durable and eye-pleasing. **10**

Critics Zero In on TV Violence

Broadcasters know they need to clean up their act; now a senator is applying some pressure. **12**



NATO HAS BOSNIA PEACEKEEPING PLANS

NATO has plans calling for a peacekeeping force of 65,000 to 75,000 soldiers to help implement a peace plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Up to 25,000 American soldiers, sailors, and airmen could go. France and Britain already have troops there and would send more. Belgium, Canada, and the Netherlands are likely to join in; so is Russia, but in a limited way. NATO's secretary-general, Manfred Woerner, plans to meet Thursday with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is in Europe consulting allies about the Bosnian war. The alliance would need a formal request from the United Nations to put the plans into action.

Kohl rival quits

German opposition leader Bjoern Engholm, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's chief rival, quit all his political posts yesterday after admitting he gave false testimony during an election scandal six years ago. Mr. Engholm resigned the governorship of Schleswig-Holstein state and the leadership of the left-leaning Social Democratic Party.

He also quit as the party's candidate for chancellor against Mr. Kohl, leader of the conservative Christian Democrats, in federal elections in late 1994. This could torpedo the Social Democrats' hopes of unseating Kohl.

Andreotti says try me

Former Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said yesterday he was in favor of lifting his own parliamentary immunity from prosecution on Mafia conspiracy charges. Political sources had predicted Italy's new government would have fallen if parliament had shielded Mr. Andreotti from prosecution in the same way as it protected another former premier, Bettino Craxi, last week. Andreotti said he is convinced the accusations against him are totally false.

Vroooom in China

It would cost nearly 900 years of an average Chinese worker's wages, but a businessman in Beijing is about to become the owner of the first Ferrari in Communist China. A businessman in a Sino-foreign joint venture company in Beijing – whose name has not been released to the media – will be the owner of a red model 348 TS, a 300-horsepower car capable of 171 miles an hour.

Khmer Rouge attacks

Khmer Rouge guerrillas attacked the Cambodian town of Siem Reap yesterday, briefly capturing its airport and forcing tourists to take shelter. The full-scale assault was the most serious to confront the UN since the peacekeepers arrived in March 1992, a senior military official said. It was aimed at a garrison of the government army between Siem Reap airport and the nearby Angkor Wat temple complex.

Kennedys on the move?

The Kennedy family may be selling the oceanfront Florida estate where a sexual encounter led to the rape trial of William Kennedy Smith, Newsweek reports. In its May 10 issue, the magazine cited an unidentified source who said the $3.6 million property in Palm Beach was going to be offered for sale. It said the office of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts had no comment.

Term limits – in Yemen

A press report said Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh will ask his parliament to impose term limits on the presidency. Mr. Saleh said in an interview that limiting the number of terms Yemen's president could serve would be a priority for the new parliament following Yemen's first multi-party elections in which his General People's Congress won the most seats, the Washington Post reported.

More Palestinians return

Rawhi al-Khatib, the former mayor of Jerusalem, and 13 other Palestinian deportees and their families left Amman for the West Bank yesterday, ending years of exile after Israel agreed to allow their return. They are the second group of deportees to be allowed back home since being banished after 1967. Israel hopes the move will help ongoing Arab-Israeli talks.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Reno Handling of Waco Standoff No Surprise to Former Associates

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MIAMI

JANET RENO has never been one to shrink from public accountability. As state prosecutor for Dade County, she would hear from critics who threatened to call the newspaper over a disagreement. She would routinely give them the telephone number for the Miami Herald and offer the names of editors or reporters to contact.

The blunt talk and candid feeling that Ms. Reno, now the United States attorney general, has shown since the Waco tragedy run deep in her personal history, according to those who have known her professionally over the years.

The first woman in US history to join a president's inner Cabinet, she is also the first Clinton Cabinet member to be run through the wringer of public crisis.

"Typical Janet," says attorney George Yoss of Reno's the-buck-stops-with-me performance. Mr. Yoss, who was Reno's first chief assistant for eight years in the state attorney's office here, says, "If she screws up, she'll tell you she screwed up. If you threaten to call the newspaper, she'll give you the phone number."

"She's unquestionably the best person to walk into a Justice Department that's full of flab and mirrors and smoke," says Dade juvenile court Judge Tom Petersen, also a longtime first chief assistant to Reno. "She'll either emerge victorious or they'll carry her out on her shield."

Former associates paint a portrait of Reno as unvarnished, scrupulously straight-arrow, yet an astute popular politician – probably the most powerful elected official in Dade County for a dozen years. She lives for her work to the point that aides who depart feel resented as disloyal. She is intense and demanding, strong-willed and impatient, decisive to the point of rigidity. She never lets a detail drop or starts a program without following through. She usually sets her own agenda, even on committees run by others, and it is difficult to change her mind once it is set.

She is a decidedly liberal Democrat who encouraged some nontraditional ways of dealing with crime that smack as much of social work as of law enforcement. She has a special concern for children that even her critics credit as heartfelt.

"She's a very sensitive person," says former Miami Police Chief Ken Harms, "in spite of the harsh words you hear from her from time to time."

Judge Petersen describes her as an "evangelist" on children's issues. She proselytized at every chance with what he refers to as the "womb speech." In recent years, her thrust on juvenile crime was to emphasize day care and prenatal care for very young children as a long-term solution.

Yoss says she always had a strong interest in the victims of crime, especially children and the elderly. Prosecutors under Reno needed top-level approval to accept a plea bargain in a case of elder abuse.

By the conventional measure of a prosecutor – conviction rates – Reno's office was at best mediocre. For the population and number of crimes, most Florida counties sent a higher share to jail.

Mr. Harms said police administrators did not necessarily view her as soft on crime, but they were frustrated with how ineffective the justice system seemed to be in Dade. He doesn't lay all the responsibility on her, but believes she was more astute as a politician than effective at converting arrests into convictions.

She also has a strong interest in dealing with many cases outside of the traditional criminal courts. In 1977, she proposed a domestic violence program that diverted many cases into counseling rather than criminal trials. It still operates. Three years ago, the local courts set up a special drug court that sends most first- and second-time offenders into treatment rather than to prison. She has encouraged such special courts, such as for serious repeat offenders, but the judiciary has been reluctant to create them.

In 1984 her top assistant, Mr. Petersen, went on extended leave from his duties in the office to work at strengthening community ties in a few of the neighborhoods that consistently generated the most criminals. He ended up setting up little convenience stores staffed by welfare mothers in the middle of housing projects.

The stores became healthy, functioning hearts of activity in the projects, surrounded by day-care centers and other public services. But progress was constantly eroded by waves of crack addiction in the projects, and they were closed down by Hurricane Andrew in 1992 and the Liberty City riots of 1986.

Reno was always skeptical of the stores, Petersen says, because they involved money, therefore risk. She was more interested in day-care centers. But she became involved and supportive. "I think Janet is a kind-hearted person who believes in the inherent goodness of mankind, and that good treatment will work more often than not," Harms says.

MIKE THEILER

RENO: *Attorney general's testimony to House committee last week was 'typical Janet,' says ex-colleague.*

Reno is not an easy person to work for – in part because her follow-through is meticulous. Aides lived in fear of her "little black book." In it, she carried long lists of office assignments that she would go through in meetings, checking on everyone's progress. Aides joked about hiding or stealing it, but it would not have helped, Yoss says, because she would remember everything anyway.

Typically, he says, he would write a close-out memo on a case, and she would send it back with a list of questions. He would redo it and she would send it back with more questions, and so on until it would sit on her desk for a few months until she decided it was ready. She delegated, but not very much.

Yoss also recalls firing someone three times and Reno's rehiring the person three times to offer another chance.

G. REED SCHUMANN/REUTERS

FALLOUT: *Investigator last week sifts through the remains of the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas. The director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms faces criticism for his handling of the Feb. 28 raid.*

Weeks After Waco Fire, 'Blame Game' Goes On

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

TWO weeks after the fiery end to the Branch Davidian standoff, public attention has shifted from the immediate aftermath of the disaster to its long-term implications.

Investigators at the scene near Waco, Texas, say they believe they have found all the bodies they will be able to find – a total of 77, including Sunday's discovery of cult leader David Koresh's body. Federal investigations are now beginning to look into both the initial Feb. 28 raid on the cult compound by agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) and into the final FBI attack on the compound April 19.

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen is expected to announce that a three-person commission will oversee a Treasury Department investigation of the initial BATF raid. The Justice Department is conducting a separate investigation of the April 19 finale.

"I think the undertaking of a thorough review of the entire incident can't help but prompt some rethinking of a lot of the practices and procedures that were followed both at the outset of the effort and in the final tragic resolution," says Richard Thornburgh, who served as US attorney general from 1988 to 1991.

Janet Reno – who became attorney general March 12, partway through the 51-day standoff in Waco – stressed in congressional testimony last week that the investigations must focus on ways to prevent a repeat of Waco. She outlined questions under examination, including:

- Did BATF follow established procedures in the execution of the arrest and search warrants and, if so, were they were adequate?
- Is federal law enforcement "adequately prepared to negotiate in dangerous situations in terms of training, staffing, and available techniques?"
- Are improvements needed in the coordination of law enforcement agencies?
- How best can "command and control" of field operations be handled in dangerous operations like Waco?

The congressman who gave Ms. Reno the toughest grilling, Rep. John Conyers (D) of Michigan, is introducing a bill to abolish BATF and transfer its functions to the Justice Department.

Some in Congress have suggested that competition between departments on law enforcement may be healthy, but former Attorney General Thornburgh agrees that a more centralized approach is preferable: "I think that law enforcement is difficult enough without creating artificial competition between departments."

IN a town where blame is usually ducked rather than assumed, Attorney General Reno has made herself the darling of the news media by immediately taking responsibility for Waco.

The day after her Capitol Hill testimony, she met with Representative Conyers, prompting a press release that fairly gushed about her. This came on the heels of the emotional confrontation the day before in which Conyers remarked that Reno had done "exactly the right thing" by offering to resign over Waco.

"He found her a straight shooter. That's the key," says an aide to Conyers, contrasting her performance to those of FBI Director William Sessions and the head of BATF, Stephen Higgins.

While Mr. Sessions has long been seen as a lame duck at the FBI, Mr. Higgins appears set either to lose his job or to resign from the post because of his role in the Waco incident. In contrast to Reno, Higgins has provided conflicting or incomplete responses to questions about the Waco raid.

A great deal about the initial Feb. 28 raid, which BATF has said was an attempt to serve the compound with a search warrant for illegal firearms, appears questionable.

A sworn statement by an undercover BATF agent indicates that cult leader Koresh knew his compound was about to be raided, despite statements to the contrary by other BATF officials.

Agency officials now acknowledge that Koresh had been forewarned, but they say they went ahead with the raid anyway because they felt the cult members would be unprepared.

The BATF has also been inconsistent in its response to accusations that it tipped off the news media to the raid so as to generate positive publicity – and as a result, increased the danger to BATF agents. The presence of a crowd of reporters at the site on Feb. 28 indicates they knew something was about to happen.

INTERVIEW

A New GOP Leader Looks To Restore 'Party of Ideas'

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

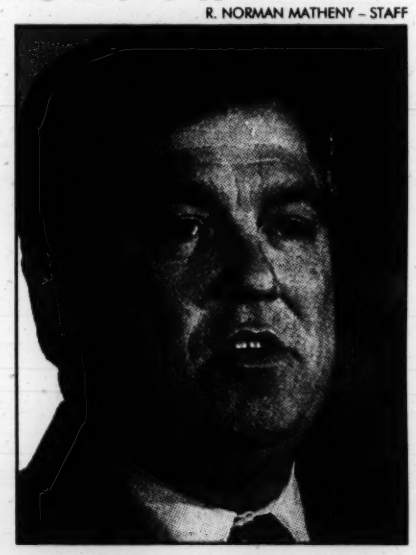
IN this age of blow-dried, homogenous politicians, Haley Barbour sounds like a throwback to the regional political bosses of old. The burly new chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) makes no attempt to hide his roots. The Southern-speak rolls off his tongue like water down the Mississippi: "Ah tohld someone...." "Ah believe...."

The accent can be a little misleading. Mr. Barbour left his native Mississippi long ago and established a reputation as one of the leading lawyer-lobbyists in Washington. Both his understanding of the world beyond the capital and his inside-the-beltway savvy will come in handy as Barbour undertakes the daunting task of moving the RNC in a different direction.

Barbour, who won a heated leadership race in January, sees his task as twofold. First he wants to redirect the party's resources from Washington into grass-roots organizing at the state level. "There's a lot more to be gained from outside Washington," he asserts, "in the development and articulation of the Republican message." As part of that strategy, Barbour has been traveling around the country recently to meet with local Republican officials.

Barbour's other goal is to change the party apparatus from being only a fund-raising organ into an organization that can provide the party with intellectual leadership.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



GOP CHAIRMAN HALEY BARBOUR: *'We have to be careful people don't confuse principles with intolerance.'*

It was the failure to articulate ideas well that contributed, in large measure, to George Bush's 1992 defeat, Barbour believes.

"Our biggest mistake in 1992 was that people didn't sense that the Republican Party stood for something," he says in a telephone interview.

Barbour believes the RNC can take the lead in reasserting the party's principles. His model is the way former Sen. William Brock ran the RNC in the late 1970s.

"That was the period when supply-side became Republican dogma ... and the Republicans were really seen as the party of ideas," he notes.

So Barbour vows to resurrect some of Mr. Brock's innovations. For example, he wants to start a publication modeled on Common Sense, the quarterly journal of ideas published by the RNC in the 1970s.

He also aims to revive policy task forces made up of former administration officials and "think-tank types."

The key issues Barbour believes the GOP should emphasize are economic – principally the party's opposition to President Clinton's "government-growth package."

Mr. Clinton, he says, "has given us an economic package that reminds people why they're Republicans."

On social issues, Barbour warns, the party must tread warily. Although he is personally opposed to abortion, the new chairman doesn't want the GOP to alienate pro-choice voters.

"We have to be careful people don't confuse principles with intolerance," he says. "We're a broad, mainstream, and diverse party, and we can't give people the impression that if you don't agree with Haley Barbour on everything you're not welcome."

Barbour is confident that, despite their often-noisy public spats, the differences between liberal Republicans like Gov. William Weld (R) of Massachusetts and hard-core conservatives like columnist Patrick Buchanan can be bridged.

"Bill Weld and Pat Buchanan agree on more than they disagree," he asserts. "My job is to emphasize the great principles that unite us: peace through strength, tough on crime, individual responsibility and freedom, small government."

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"My brother's a football coach and his teams go through a process of winning and losing. After a disappointing loss there tends to be a lot of internal reexamination, looking at the running game, the defense, the passing. We work through that, and then very quickly we get to focus on the next contest," Representative Armey avers. "As we've focused on the Democrats, other things have dropped into place and we've developed a common cause."

Economic focal point

The common cause the GOP has found recently is opposition to President Clinton's economic plan. In the Senate, for example, all 43 GOP members stuck together in a filibuster that defeated the stimulus package.

"Right now the party is unified in opposition to Clinton's economic plan and its philosophical assumption of more government, not less," says William Bennett, a former Reagan-Bush Cabinet member. "The Clinton economic program will be to us domestically what communism was in foreign affairs: a unifying force."

But lurking behind today's new-found unity is the specter of internecine division. If the GOP is to avoid the strife that occurred in 1992, many Republicans say, the party must form a coherent agenda. And to do that, Republicans will have to come to terms with three major fault lines.

■ On social issues: Libertarians and socially liberal Republicans want the party not to take a stand on issues such as abortion and school prayer. Conservatives reply that, as Mr. Bennett puts it, social issues are "key" to winning back the allegiance of Reagan Democrats – mainly working-class ethnics – whose votes were crucial to Republican successes in the 1980s.

■ On economic issues: Deficit hawks, such as Sen. Pete Domenici (R) of New Mexico, say their top priority is reducing the deficit. Supply-siders, like Jack Kemp, favor cutting taxes to stimulate the economy. While their disagreement is strong, GOP Chairman Haley Barbour argues their views are not incompatible – they are simply stressing different sides of the same coin.

■ On foreign policy: Few in the GOP agree with the isolationist views of Patrick Buchanan. But there is no internationalist consensus, either. For example, Republicans are divided over whether US forces should be used in the former Yugoslavia.

Of the three disagreements, the one over social issues is by far the most serious. Republican leaders feel that they cannot alienate either pro-choice or anti-abortion forces. As a result they are trying to forge an uneasy compromise: putting divisive social issues in the background, while stressing the economic principles that allegedly unite the GOP. Says Sen. Phil Gramm (R) of Texas: "We'll never have a consensus on abortion. But we'll have Republicans with different views on the issue who also share a common vision for peace and prosperity."

Will that compromise satisfy all factions within the GOP's Big Tent? It's too early to say. But some Republicans are convinced that their internal divisions will be bridged.

"There could be splits but there could be a surprising amount of agreement," says William Kristol, chief of staff to Vice President Dan Quayle. "If you look historically, the Republicans aren't so bad off now. Look at how split the Democrats were in 1989."

Waiting in the wings

Mr. Kristol and other GOP analysts believe their party is poised for a comeback – especially if Clintonomics flounders. They have been encouraged by Republicans' strong showing Saturday in a US Senate by-election in Texas, and by recent opinion polls that show roughly as many Americans call themselves Republicans as Democrats.

That's the good news. The bad news is that to take advantage of those figures, Republicans will have to preserve party comity on a host of divisive issues – abortion foremost among them. "It'll be interesting to see if the Republicans can get themselves past the abortion issue," says Paul Tsongas, a Democratic presidential candidate in 1992. "If they can do it they will be formidable. If not, they'll be an asterisk."

■ *The first of a five-part series.*

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of United States Forest Service land – one-third of such land used for grazing.

Environmentalists add that cattle grazing in the arid West causes severe range damage, including muddy and polluted streams, erosion, and the introduction of noxious weeds. "We need to restore fully functioning ecosystems," says Rose Strickland, a Sierra Club public-lands specialist. "We need to strictly enforce public-lands law."

Others note that Western ranching – while it holds a major place in history and folklore – accounts for a small segment of US beef production. (About 20 percent when calves shipped to eastern feedlots are included.)

All of this has put Western ranchers on the defensive. But in a series of four hearings that began last Thursday in Bozeman, Mont., and will conclude this Thursday in Albuquerque, N.M., they seem to have found a friend in Interior Secretary Babbitt.

WHILE the Clinton administration at first proposed raising grazing fees as part of its 1994 budget, it backed off when Western lawmakers (mostly Democrats) raised a fuss. And as they did in the recent "timber summit" in Oregon, administration officials are paying heed to the human dimension of knotty economic and environmental problems.

"The president has an intense interest in finding a solution that ensures that family ranchers remain on the land and are not driven into extreme hardship," Babbitt said in opening the Reno, Nev., meeting Saturday.

Babbitt emphasizes that "the grazing issue is more about the condition of the land than the size of the grazing fee." Indeed, there is some question about how far off the current fee is. Ranchers argue that while privately leased land already includes costly things like water systems, roads, and fences, they must install and maintain such things on their federal permitted land.

Rangeland resource economist Frederick Obermiller of Oregon State University says that making public fees comparable to private leases would mean a grazing fee of $1.92 per animal unit month – what it was in 1992.

Over and over at the Reno meeting, ranchers also stressed their role as good land stewards. "Ranchers are hard-working caretakers of the land," said Lorin Moench of Salt Lake City, whose family has been ranching for 70 years. Increasingly, ranchers like "Doc" and Connie Hatfield of Brothers, Ore., are winning high praise from the Nature Conservancy and other environmental groups for protecting their riparian areas and other important elements of wildlife habitat.

And ranch supporters also warned that raising grazing fees to the point that small ranches go out of business or are taken over by big corporations could be very harmful to many Western communities where ranching income pays for local services. It could also accelerate the selling off of what is now agriculturally productive land for housing subdivisions, said rancher Bart Topping of Madera, Calif.

But most ranchers also acknowledge that a more environmentally aware administration in Washington is going to mean a new era of federal land management and a likely fee increase of some sort.

Ranchers have found a surprising friend in the Interior secretary, who is hearing their concerns at a series of Western meetings.

Babbitt says he wants to link grazing fees with land stewardship "to create direct incentives for restoring the public lands to good condition."

While environmentalists were stung by the Clinton administration's go-slow shift on grazing fees, they agree that such fees are less important than ecosystem restoration.

After this set of meetings, Babbitt and Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy will work into the summer on a proposed administration policy, then send it out for public comment – after which a new round of meetings in the West will be held.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.

Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.

ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.

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POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11292, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

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Communist Worker's Party, said on May 1. "Although there were no bullets today, there will be plenty of them tomorrow."

The fiery rhetoric of Yeltsin foes, including Mr. Anpilov and NSF co-chairman Ilya Konstantinov, is indicative of the desperate mood in the opposition camp following the April 25 referendum, analysts say. Using the popular mandate gained in the referendum, Yeltsin wants to break the opposition's back by promulgating a new constitution that would enshrine strong executive power.

"We shall fight to the bitter end," Mr. Konstantinov said. "The Motherland or death!"

The introduction of violence into the political battle perhaps is the last mechanism available to the opposition to stop Yeltsin's reforms, some analysts say.

"They [the opposition] are using Bolshevik methods," says historian Vladimir Dolin, an eyewitness to the May 1 events. "They're trying to radicalize people, making promises to people about social guarantees that they can never keep."

FOLLOWING the overthrow of the czar in February 1917, the Bolsheviks fomented unrest in April, June, and July of that year, hoping to come to power amid chaos. When those attempts failed, they resorted to an outright coup, ousting the provisional government.

Radical opposition leaders are agitating to squeeze out centrist Yeltsin opponents, starting with Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. Anpilov calls for Mr. Khasbulatov's ouster, naming hard-line nationalist leaders Sergei Baburin or Mikhail Astafyev as possible replacements.

Yeltsin supporters, meanwhile, are far from united. Radical democrats want Yeltsin to impose presidential rule, or ban opposition groups, such as the NSF. But so far Yeltsin appears unwilling to take such drastic steps.

Resolute action by the president is needed to defuse the threat, Ms. Shavshukova and Mr. Dolin say. But Yeltsin's options are limited, they add, citing the failed attempt in March to impose presidential rule and the Constitutional Court's decision overturning a Yeltsin ban on the NSF.

The best way for Yeltsin to respond, Dolin says, would be to strike at the opposition's growing power base by offering increased social benefits to those hard-hit by economic reforms. But Yeltsin will be hard-pressed to find sufficient resources to address the needs of Russia's burgeoning and discontented underclass, he adds.

The president is ready to take decisive measures, Sergei Filatov, Yeltsin's chief-of-staff, said in a television interview May 2. But Mr. Filatov also admitted that he had not spoken to the president about the situation.

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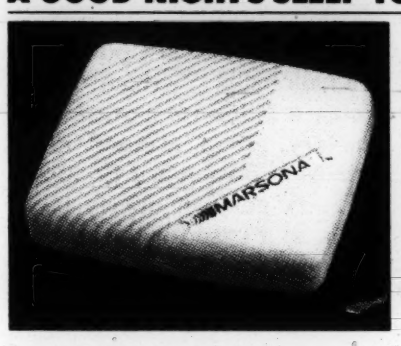

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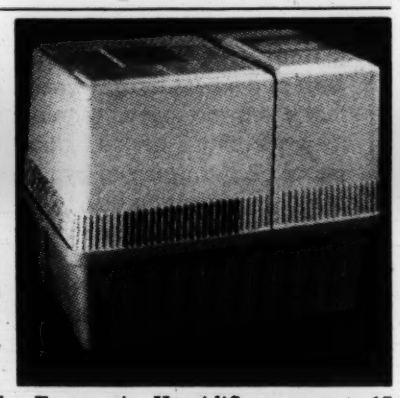

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INTERNATIONAL

Human rights groups, Muslim leaders decry a wave of murder, kidnapping, and arson in towns along Serbia's border with Bosnia

Signs of 'Cleansing' Inside Serbia

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PRIJEPOLJE, YUGOSLAVIA

A NOTE of doubt stole into Senata's voice as she expressed the conviction that her father was still alive.

"You can only hope for the best. But you really don't know," she admitted, asking that her real name not be used out of concern for her father's safety.

More than two months have passed since he and 17 other Muslim citizens of Serbia and Montenegro were abducted from a train that was stopped, allegedly by Bosnian Serb militiamen, as it crossed a sliver of Bosnia-Herzegovina that juts into rump Yugoslavia.

Despite vows of swift action by senior Yugoslav officials, including Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who visited Prijepolje several weeks after the Feb. 22 kidnappings, the whereabouts of the abductees remains unknown and no arrests have been made.

"We are all convinced that the state will do something," Senata said as she and relatives of other missing men spoke in guarded tones in the office of a Muslim humanitarian organization here.

Human rights groups and Muslim leaders say they believe all 18 are dead, victims of a wave of murder, kidnapping, and arson along Bosnia's border with the Sandzak, a Muslim-dominated region of mountains, river valleys, and a few paved roads straddling the corners of southwestern Serbia and northern Montenegro.

Serb irregulars blamed

Human rights groups and Muslim leaders say the attacks are part of a Belgrade-orchestrated policy to drive Serbian Muslims from the frontier and destroy their centuries-old familial, economic, and cultural ties with Bosnian Muslims.

Serbian and Montenegrin officials acknowledge the violence. But they vehemently deny the charges of deliberate "ethnic cleansing." Instead, they blame the attacks on marauding bands of Bosnian Serb irregulars.

More than 50 Muslims from Serbia and Montenegro have been killed or have gone missing along the Sandzak frontier since the Belgrade-backed Bosnian Serbs began carving out a self-declared state from their former Yugoslav republic in March 1992.

In addition to the train abductions, Muslims have been kidnapped from a bus, a hospital in the Serbian town of Priboj, and their villages. Men, women, and even infants have been reported missing. Most are known or believed to have been taken to Bosnia, where some have been held for exchange with Bosnian Serb fighters captured by the Muslim-led Bosnian Army.

Unknown numbers of Muslims reportedly have been beaten and harassed on the Serbian and Montenegrin sides of the border. Hundreds have been driven from their homes, many of which were subsequently looted and torched.

Only one suspect was ever arrested, and he was eventually released. The result is an ongoing exodus from the Sandzak of Muslims whose families have lived for generations in the region, one of the last in former Yugoslavia abandoned by the Ottoman Turks. Roughly 9,500 people have fled not only from the border region, but from deeper inside Serbia's districts of Priboj and Prijepolje and from the Pljevlja district in Montenegro.

"Only three families remain in my village. There were 17 families there," says Hami Asceric, who last week left his hamlet of Zaostro after 10 nearby Muslim homes were set aflame.

Many of the displaced have sought refuge in western Europe. Those who remain receive aid from humanitarian groups because they are disqualified from state assistance since they are not refugees from foreign countries.

"This is a classic example of ethnic cleansing," charges Smajo Polinac, the head of the Party for Democratic Action (SDA), the Sandzak's main Muslim party. "This regime is responsible." The SDA seeks deployment of UN peacekeeping troops in the area.

Muslim fanaticism?

Yugoslav officials accuse the SDA of exploiting and exaggerating the situation to fan ethnic tensions and win its goal of autonomy for the Sandzak, where Muslims constitute 64 percent of the population. State officials argue that many SDA leaders are Muslim fanatics working with their party's founder, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, to create an Islamic state.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

Charges of deliberate Serbian ethnic cleansing, have been backed by eyewitness reports of attacks. In numerous cases, witnesses and survivors say, Yugoslav police and Army troops have themselves joined in or committed attacks. The Yugoslav Army denies such allegations.

"Eight reservists came and pointed machine guns at us. They told us to move out of our house," says Ramo Husovic, who was driven from the hamlet of Kukurovici in October. "The Army was there. Our Army."

Since then, according to residents, every Muslim home has been torched in Kukurovici, where Bosnian Serb gunmen reportedly killed three Muslims and wounded two others Feb. 18 in the presence of Yugoslav troops.

Human rights groups, including the private Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Fund, note that Yugoslav security forces control the points that Bosnian Serbs must use to cross the border. Army officials refused permission for a visit to the frontier.

There have also been serious incidents farther from the border, particularly in Pljevlja, a stronghold of Yugoslavia's powerful ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party, a Milosevic-nurtured paramilitary group accused of war crimes in Bosnia and Croatia.

Party gunmen openly use Pljevlja as a base for operations in eastern Bosnia. They even seized the district's main town, also called Pljevlja, briefly last year after the arrest of their local leader, Ceko Dacevic, for suspected attacks on Muslim-owned properties. He was freed recently for lack of evidence.

Unknown attackers last week bombed for a second time the office of the Muslim director of Pljevlja's dental clinic. He quit, vacating the last senior municipal post held by a Muslim.

'Cleansing' charges

SDA leaders buttress charges of ethnic attacks by citing Serbian Radical Party chief Vojislav Seselj's calls for the cleansing of Muslims from a 18-mile-wide belt along the Sandzak's border with Bosnia.

But Jovo Petrovic, chief aide to the president of the Pljevlja district, ridicules the SDA charges. "These are fascist and nationalist claims. I'm concerned that foreign political kitchens are preparing these Muslims as radicals."

"We are putting the maximum of our forces into protecting the people. But there are 142 kilometers [88 miles] of border and you cannot line up soldiers one next to the other along it," Mr. Petrovic adds. "There are guerrillas who come across. They are not disciplined. Some Serbs have suffered as well."

Muslim political leaders and citizens say that the situation could quickly be improved if Belgrade took decisive steps to reassure the Sandzak's Muslims of their protection and safety.

"It would be enough for Milosevic to say, 'Bring them back,' " Zevdzo Huric, the SDA leader in Prijepolje, says of those kidnapped from the train. "But our impression is that [Milosevic] had a different goal here."

BOSNIAN SERBS VOICE SKEPTICISM ON PEACE PLAN

SARAJEVO AND LONDON

■ Hard-liners in the Bosnian Serb parliament have warned that it is by no means certain they will ratify a United Nations peace accord accepted by their leader, Radovan Karadzic.

Mr. Karadzic said he initialed the agreement at talks in Athens Sunday after being assured territory was negotiable and he stressed his move "was not a signature, but a paragraph which has to be proven" by his rebel parliament tomorrow.

"I believe [it] must be reworked and cannot be accepted in the present form," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the self-styled parliament which has twice rejected the plan, told Bosnian Serb radio.

Fresh clashes erupted within hours of Karadzic's provisional endorsement of the pact. Five people were killed and dozens were wounded when Sarajevo, the Serb-besieged capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was shelled.

Meanwhile, in London, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher vowed yesterday to keep making preparations for allied military strikes against Bosnian Serbs until they implement the international peace plan.

Mr. Christopher said he would continue soliciting support for a new US military strategy until the Serbs complied.

Christopher got a lukewarm reception from the British after hours of consultations on Sunday and talks again yesterday. He acknowledged that he did not obtain Britain's unqualified support for a new US military strategy that would involve bombing Serb positions and finding ways to get arms to Bosnian Muslims.

He added that, as he surveyed allied attitudes, he found the Europeans "hopeful but skeptical" about the Serbs accepting the accord.

In Bosnia, Karadzic, in an interview with British Broadcasting Corporation radio, said he hoped the Bosnian-Serb parliament would ratify the peace plan drawn up by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen. Bosnia's Muslims and Croats have already accepted it. If the parliament did not, he said, he would offer his resignation.

Karadzic's turnround came after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic pressed him to bow to the threat of punitive US-led air strikes.

UN sanctions have forced Mr. Milosevic to swing his considerable influence behind peace efforts.

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In Power 40 Years, King Hussein Strives for a Democratic Jordan

The monarch has placated his political opponents through inclusion

By Sana Atiyeh
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

AMMAN, JORDAN

AT the 40th anniversary of his rule, King Hussein of Jordan is building the foundations of a modern Arab society and attempting to unite a traditional Islamic identity with democratic freedoms.

If successful, Jordan's experiment could prove a model of stability for the Arab world at a time of rising Islamic activism and popular discontent with economic decline and government corruption throughout the region.

But the longest-reigning Arab leader acknowledges publicly that time is short. He hopes to build a democratic system that would survive threats from anti-reformists long after his rule.

"King Hussein is racing with time in building democratic and civil institutions to turn Jordan into a modern state," says Munis Razzaz, head of the newly formed leftist Jordanian Arab Democractic Party. "And if there are threats to the democracy in the future, there will be safety valves to protect it."

Those safety valves – written into Jordan's National Charter since riots in 1989 prompted a process of democratization – include legalized freedoms of expression and press, free elections and popular participation in government, and legalized opposition parties and labor unions.

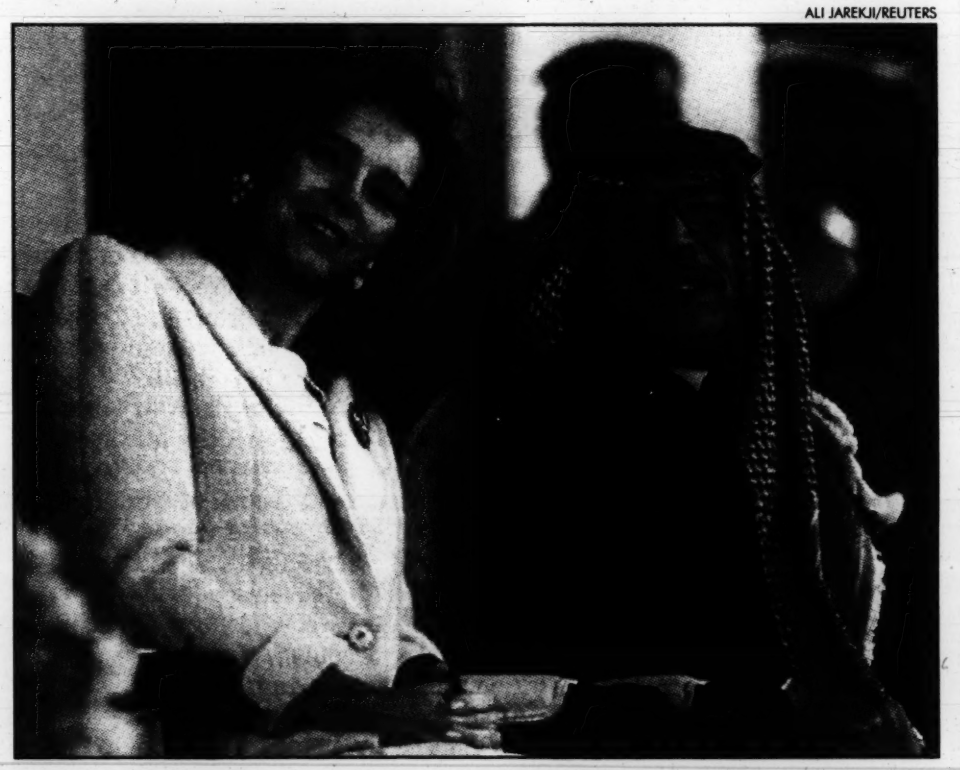
Jordan celebrated the 40th anniversary of Hussein's assumption of constitutional powers May 2 with a colorful, two-hour military parade. Large banners in the background read: "Forty years with Hussein on the road to freedom, democracy, and development."

Hussein was only 18 when he inherited the Hashemite throne that his father, King Talal, abdicated for medical reasons. The young Hussein also inherited a country lacking resources and surrounded by political turmoil.

During the past four decades, Hussein has survived several assassination attempts and aborted coups. After his regime was threatened by leftists in 1957, he cracked down on and banned all political parties, with the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood, a moderate Islamic political party. He strengthened his security apparatus to protect the throne and politically neutralized them by banning them from political activity.

When the April 1989 riots broke out in the south of the country, protesting economic and political conditions, Hussein announced free parliamentary elections in November of that year. The Muslim Brotherhood won the largest single bloc, and now more than 12 political parties have been licensed ahead of parliamentary elections due in November.

ALI JAREKJI/REUTERS



AT THE PARADE: *King Hussein, the longest-reigning Arab leader, and Queen Noor watched celebrations in Amman, Jordan, marking his 40th year in power May 2.*

The king's democratization policy, political analysts say, has contained his one-time communist and leftist enemies, as well as the potential rise of Muslim extremism.

The Muslim Brotherhood has been included in the three governments formed since the 1989 elections, averting the kind of confrontations seen in Egypt and Algeria.

"We can ignore neither the Muslim Brotherhood nor others and they all have to be included in the political system of the country," says Ibrahim Izziddine, minister of prime ministerial affairs.

Besides winning over the Jordanian left and right, Hussein has also succeeded in mustering support from the large Palestinian population in the kingdom. Since his administrative and legal disengagement from the West Bank in 1988, which was under Jordanian rule when Israel occupied it in 1967, Hussein has insisted that Jordan would support any decisions taken by the Palestine Liberation Organization, especially regarding the Middle East peace talks.

And unlike other Arab countries, Palestinians in Jordan, most of whom carry Jordanian citizenship, have enjoyed the same rights as native Jordanians.

Hussein's popularity at home also has spread to other Arab states. On the eve of the anniversary celebrations, he attended a concert where a famous Tunisian singer, Sofia Sadeq, sang the words of a prominent Iraqi poet, Mohammad Jawaheri, composed and conducted by Egyptian Jamal Salameh. The song was written especially for the king.

Mr. Razzaz, the Jordanian Arab Democractic Party leader, says Hussein believes he has a "Hashemite mission toward achieving a European-style Arab unity through democracy, pluralism, and respect for human rights.... He hopes to become a symbol in the Arab world by building a democratic model in Jordan," Razzaz says.

"I don't have any doubts that democracy is a national trend that is fully supported by Prince Hassan," Izziddine says of Hussein's brother, the heir apparent. "But it is difficult to replace such a great leader as King Hussein."

CANADIAN POLITICS

Quebec's Premier May Resign, Making Way For Change

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

QUEBEC may soon see a change in leadership.

Provincial Premier Robert Bourassa, who has said he is seriously ill, is widely expected to announce in coming days whether he will step down as leader of the provincial Liberal Party and of the province. He says his decision will be based on his doctor's recommendation.

But the wide uncertainty created by Mr. Bourassa's periodic absences from debates in the provincial legislature may have taken choice in the matter out of the premier's hands.

"Change is what people are asking for. I don't think Bourassa will stay," said Marcel Côté, a former Bourassa campaign adviser, in a recent interview. "He will resign in May or June."

Questions about Bourassa's future come at a time of vigorous debate in Quebec over several emotional issues, including language, the provincial budget, and a government confrontation with public-sector unions.

The biggest debate is over language. Parti Québécois (PQ) separatists last week attacked a compromise in which the provincial legislature's Liberal majority agreed to modify the controversial French-only sign law to permit English as well as French on commercial signs – with French still predominating. Billboards would still be required to be in French only.

The Liberal majority has long been at odds with itself over its strict language law. Bill 178 was passed five years ago in a more stridently nationalist period, and amid protests by Quebec's English speakers and across English-speaking Canada. A 1988 ruling by Canada's Supreme Court against the law was overruled when Quebec invoked a constitutional tool that allows any province to opt out of any federal law it deems out of order for five years.

Last week's language-law compromise was spurred in part because the provincial language law is coming up for a five-year review, mandated by Canadian law, and because of a recent United Nations Human Rights Committee ruling that declared the French-only sign law in conflict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Liberals were in a bind on the language issue until a few weeks ago, divided within their ranks and facing attacks from separatists. But Bourassa brought together the nationalist wing of his party in a compromise with the federalist wing.

Resolution of the language issue also opens the door for healing of an internal party rift over last year's constitutional referendum in which the party's nationalist wing pushed for looser ties with Canada than was finally accepted under the plan, known as the Charlottetown Accord. That plan failed in a national referendum that left the Liberals in disarray.

Still, Liberals face a tough PQ foe in provincial elections that must be held before September 1994. Their biggest problem now is what to do if the popular Bourassa is forced to resign.

Liberal Party officials still publicly defer to Bourassa out of respect, and refuse to discuss what would happen if he leaves.

Even so, some say there are signs of preparations for a leadership convention and movement among top party officials considered potential successors. Strategy meetings have begun to be held along with discussions on revising the Liberal platform, including its constitutional plank, a Liberal source says.

Party officials often spoken of as possible successors to Bourassa include party Treasurer Daniel Johnson, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Gil Rémillard, Environment Minister Pierre Paradis, and Energy Minister Lise Bacon.

Mr. Johnson, the party treasurer, is widely considered by pundits to be a top contender to win a Liberal Party leadership convention, should Bourassa resign. In an interview late last month, Johnson deflected all questions about what challenges the party would face if Bourassa resigns.

"I have rarely seen him in such good shape," he said of the premier.

ECONOMY

The French are again lounging at the Metropole, remembering the old days – a letter from Hanoi

Hanoi Grudgingly Opens Market To the Pursuit of Happiness

LOU DEMATTIES

HANOI SHOPPER: *Merchants who years ago would have sent their children abroad in leaky boats earn enough to send them to college.*

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

HANOI, VIETNAM

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN still commands enough official respect in Vietnam that his picture is placed on the front pages of newspapers whenever his birthday rolls around.

And in downtown Hanoi, a statue of Lenin commands a central spot in a city whose common citizens have embraced free markets day by day ever since 1986, when Communist leaders of Vietnam grudgingly began to undo the command economy.

The pace toward free markets quickened in 1991 when Moscow cut off aid to Vietnam. Now, workers who ride bicycles to factories and peasants who bring bullock carts to the city must compete on Hanoi's streets with Toyota cars, buses full of foreign tourists, and the vehicles of international courier services.

In city shops, children of merchants no longer talk of escaping on leaky wooden boats across tossing seas to find a better life. Instead, their parents now earn enough money – mainly by selling smuggled foreign goods – to send their kids abroad for college.

The surest sign that the Vietnamese want to put war behind them and riches ahead of them is a plan to build a giant office and hotel complex on the site of the old "Hanoi Hilton," a POW prison where Americans were held until 1973. Officials are debating, however, whether the rundown prison, which fills an entire block, might earn more as an attraction for American tourists, who have yet to come in significant numbers.

Another old landmark, the classic Metropole Hotel, once the center of French colonial life in Hanoi, has been restored to grandeur from its shabby, socialist interlude. Its restaurant, which used to serve sulfurous bottled water from Russia, now charges Paris prices for Perrier. French tourists say they love the charm of being served by former colonial subjects.

The Russians, who until 1991 were the bulk of foreigners in Hanoi, are largely gone, except in name. The Vietnamese referred to Soviet citizens as *lien xo*. The term is now used to shoo away street beggars, of which there are many.

Gone, too, are giant posters extolling the people to follow the advice of Ho Chi Minh and Lenin (in that order). A visitor to this colonial-era city with its old, mustard-colored villas and big overhanging trees is now confronted with billboards for Sony, Daewoo, and Philips (in that order). A big picture of Ho has been removed from the front of the state bank.

An influx of foreign investors seeking to rent the best villas has jacked up housing prices in Hanoi to near Tokyo levels. A five-bedroom house can go for $6,000 a month.

One symbolic item of a capitalist society not yet for sale in Hanoi is Jane Fonda's Workout videotape. More than two decades since her visit as an antiwar activist, Hanoians are still not wealthy enough to enjoy her ardor for aerobics.

A visitor might think that capitalism had won over communism in Vietnam. And Communist Party founder Ho, whose body is preserved for viewing in a granite mausoleum, might also wonder what his old colleagues were doing when they proposed a few months ago to set up a stock market.

But despite the buzz of new commerce in Hanoi, the party keeps its hands on much of the foreign money that is flowing into Vietnam. And even though farmers were given the right to use land as they please, the state still owns all land.

Some 12,000 state enterprises that dominate the economy have yet to be broken up, privatized, or closed. An experiment to sell shares of a few enterprises to workers failed when workers preferred to continue as wards of the state.

A socialist economy has been diluted, no doubt. Health and education, for instance, are no longer free. But capitalism has been embraced by the Communist Party only firmly enough to help restore its own legitimacy with the people and to enable an eventual "transition" back to socialism.

That's why Lenin remains an official icon in Vietnam, despite his advice to communists that they skip over the capitalist "phase" of history to socialism.

Construction Is Next Big Trade Issue With Tokyo

US taps Japanese outrage over rigged bids

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

AFTER months of internal debate on trade policy, the Clinton administration has delivered a surprising first blow to Tokyo, threatening economic retaliation if Japan fails to open its public works further to foreign firms by July.

A similar threat made by the Bush administration in 1991 was never carried out. This time, however, the United States has a valuable new ally: Japanese citizens who are angry at recent revelations of massive payoffs by construction firms to top politicians.

Reports of secret collusion between officials and construction firms have so outraged many Japanese against the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) that the government has moved quickly to clean up the bidding process for public works.

"The system is a hotbed of bid rigging and cozy relations among politicians, bureaucrats, and members of the construction industry," stated a May 2 editorial in Japan's leading newspaper, Yomiuri. "The system is a strong barrier to foreign companies."

Still, the US announcement on April 30 sets a whole new tone to Japanese-US trade disputes. Tokyo fears that President Clinton, unlike his Republican predecessors, will use economic retaliation as a common tool to open up Japan's market for US products and services.

Officials say they will counter the "unilateral" US action by taking it for judgment under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). They resent the US demand to negotiate a solution within a 60-day deadline.

Japan also threatens retaliation, such as cutting off current contracts of US construction firms. Officials claim US firms have won $330 million in contracts each year since 1988.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa, reacting to the US ultimatum, claims that Japan's construction market "is institutionally nondiscriminatory and open, and is not discriminatory in its dealings with any American firms."

Japanese officials speculate that US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor decided to get tough on the construction-access issue in order to tap into Japan's political momentum for reform.

Japan's construction ministry, under severe criticism for colluding with politicians, plans to issue new bidding standards for public contracts by mid-May. In particular, the ministry plans to prevent prearranged bid rigging, known as "dango," which until a few years ago officials would not even acknowledge as a regular practice.

THE ministry has also been reluctant to accept reform because of the common practice of top-level bureaucrats retiring to take jobs in the private construction companies they once regulated.

Public outrage was primarily directed at Japan's former political kingpin, Shin Kanemaru, who was charged last month for evading taxes on $15.8 million in income, much of which allegedly came from construction payoffs. But many other politicians have reportedly received "donations."

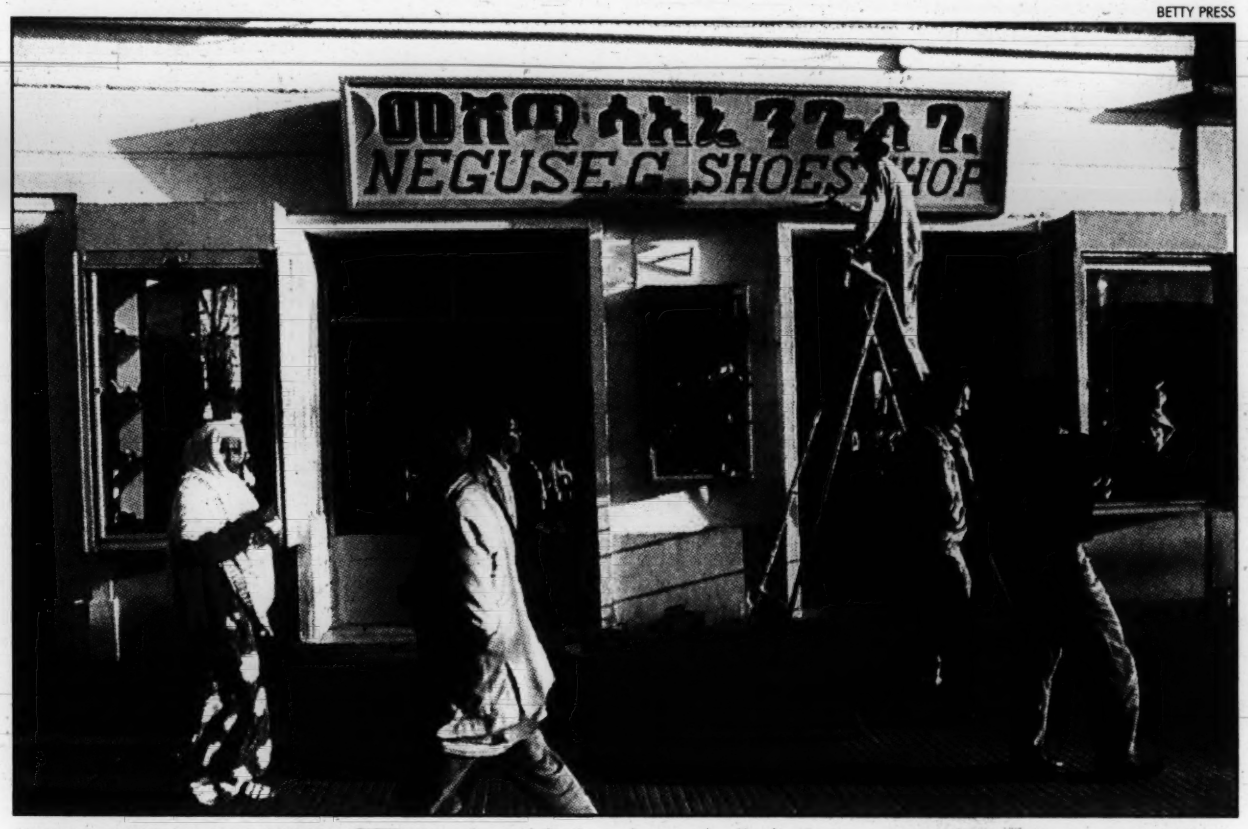
The US announcement against Japan was also well timed to help US firms try to get a piece of a $117 billion economic stimulus package unveiled last month. The main element of the package is spending on public construction.

Talks between Japan and the US on the construction issue broke down in March. Administration officials have tried to expand on a 1988 "arrangement" that gave foreign firms special treatment in bidding on 17 major construction projects in Japan.

That arrangement was designed to give US firms experience in Japan. Some big US firms that gained contracts have warned against imposing sanctions.

Under US pressure, Japan's Fair Trade Commission has looked at bid rigging in the construction industry. The FTC fined one group of 43 builders more than $8 million for manipulating bidding prices on $650 million worth of projects in Saitama prefecture north of Tokyo. But allegedly because of LDP pressure, the FTC did not file criminal charges.

BETTY PRESS



STREET SCENE IN ASMARA, ERITREA: *Commerce has picked up dramatically in the two years since Eritrea's war with Ethiopia ended. Eritreans hope their recent referendum for sovereignty will attract development assistance.*

Eritrea Is Ready, but Aid Hinges On Broader Political Participation

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASMARA, ERITREA

PROUD of their victory in a 30-year war against Ethiopia, Eritrean fighters-turned-politicians are determined to run things their way.

To senior Eritrean officials, that means not bowing to Western demands for quick democratization or immediate economic reforms, even at the expense of losing some foreign aid.

Eritrea "definitely will not accept conditions regarding democracy," says head of state Isaias Afewerki, secretary-general of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

"Our policies do not mean to satisfy the needs of external forces [donors]," says Haile Woldense, secretary of the Department of Economic Development and Cooperation. He acknowledges the need for considerable foreign help in reviving Eritrea's shattered economy.

This insistence on self-determination is based partly on confidence Eritreans gained in winning a war against the Ethiopian Army. "They know Marxism [once espoused by the EPLF] is finished, but they're not enamored with the wide divisions between the rich and poor," a Western diplomat says.

Dr. Haile wants a "market-oriented" economy, as does Mr. Afewerki. But some EPLF officials continue to insist on a "mixed" economy in which the state plays an important role.

The usual Western demands for rapid economic reforms and scaling back government payrolls are not going to be easy for Eritrea. "We want to privatize," says Haile, concerning sale of state-owned industries. But, he adds, "even to assess [their worth] is difficult." Eritrea lacks the skilled personnel to carry out such assessments and many other vital tasks.

THOUGH it is practically without foreign debt the country has little money. Eritrea does not plan to honor debts incurred by former Ethiopian regimes.

There are few good roads and many industries are running at less then 30 percent of capacity. Oil and mineral deposits have not yet been exploited.

"We were a colony [of Ethiopia]; we never had any development program at all," says Tesfai Ghermazien, secretary of the Department of Agriculture.

Restoring the war-damanged economy will cost approximately $2 billion, the government estimates. Most of that will have to come from foreign donors, officials say.

But when the United States Agency for International Development sought Eritrean commitments to a timetable for certain economic reforms, the EPLF rejected the conditions as "impractical" and turned down the money, Haile says.

One donor official, Gaetane Gascon, of Oxfam/Canada says the Eritreans "are capable and have long-term plans."

But an Eritrean businessman says Afewerki and his colleagues have to realize they cannot order donors around like they do their soldiers. The relatively small clique of ex-fighters comprising the core political leadership has to be broadened to include others, especially exiles who have ideas and skills the country needs.

On the political front, a quick move from the current military rule by the EPLF to multiparty democracy risks granting a platform to Muslim extremists, Eritrean and some Western analysts say.

Eritrean officials argue that fundamentalists pose no threat, but they also acknowledge such groups are already in the country and are trying to establish themselves in Eritrea. Eritrean officials are reluctant to open the door quickly to a multiparty system because that could weaken the current sense of national unity. "We would not like to go back to another civil war," Afewerki says.

Religious, ethnic, and ideological differences between the EPLF and another rebel group, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), weakened efforts to defeat Ethiopia in the past.

But Eritreans would be reluctant to fight each other, says Girma Asmerom, director of Eritrean Television. "Nobody ... wants peace more than we do."

Trade Barriers Harm Those Who Set Them

THERE is a different and useful way to look at the global marketplace. Why do businesses use one or another method in establishing a continuing presence in overseas markets? Why do they buy existing firms in one area and enter into joint ventures in another? Why do they build new facilities in some nations and engage in licensing and franchising in others?

In good measure, that private choice among alternative strategies is often influenced, if not dictated, by government policies. For a variety of political reasons – mainly to protect home industry – governments erect trade barriers such as tariffs and quotas. In a 1991 survey, 45 percent of United States firms reported that such obstacles were the greatest impediments to selling abroad.

Exporters can absorb some of the added costs. In the case of import quotas, companies frequently shift to higher-priced items. Businesses also draw on a variety of alternatives to direct exporting. In Western Europe, US firms set up new manufacturing facilities or buy existing local firms.

On many occasions, firms face sharp limits to foreign ownership of local enterprises. These may be formal investment barriers or tax and regulatory advantages limited to local companies. In the Asian rim, international firms most often respond by entering into joint ventures with local firms.

In the case of defense production, many of the cross-border alliances are involuntary on the part of the foreign partner. In the 1980s, European and Asian governments demanded a greater role in the development of the military aircraft they were buying from the US. As a result, US producers of advanced-weapon systems often enter into agreements with foreign firms to gain governmental customers.

In the case of more standard manufactured goods, other ways around investment limits include entering into agreements with local firms which will produce the item under licensing arrangements. In the case of services, franchising serves a similar purpose.

MURRAY WEIDENBAUM

Especially in less developed nations, governments on occasion restrict repatriation of earnings. Foreign businesses also fear future expropriation of their assets. Global enterprises still interested in doing business in those parts of the world set up affiliate or correspondent relationships with local firms. This minimizes risk and liability – and also profit potential.

In many developed nations, companies face high business taxes and onerous regulatory costs. In some cases, the barriers are informal. When these barriers to business occur in the home country, the enterprise can expand overseas. In more extreme cases, existing business operations move to a more favorable policy environment in another country. When a business operates in several countries, it can shift its high value-added activities to other nations in which it operates, specifically those with lower taxes and less burdensome regulation.

In the years ahead, the combined power of economic incentives and technological change will increasingly have feedback effects on the decisions of voters and government officials as they develop new policies to deal with the global economy. Public-sector decisionmakers will have to understand that they must become internationally competitive in the economic policies they devise.

Governmental activities that impose costs without compensating benefits or that reduce wealth substantially in the process of redistributing income undermine the competitive positions of their domestic enterprises. The result is either the loss of business to firms located in other nations or the movement of the domestic company's resources and operations to more hospitable locations.

Political scientists and economists have long understood that people vote with their feet. They leave localities, regions, and nations with limited opportunity in favor of those that offer a more attractive future. In this era of computers, telephones, and fax machines, enterprises are far more mobile than that. Information – that key resource – can be transferred in a matter of seconds.

■ *Murray Weidenbaum is director of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis.*

HABITAT

A wood-construction technique used in earlier centuries to join beams creates sturdy – and beautiful – buildings

Timber-Framing Raises the Roof

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ALSTEAD, N.H.

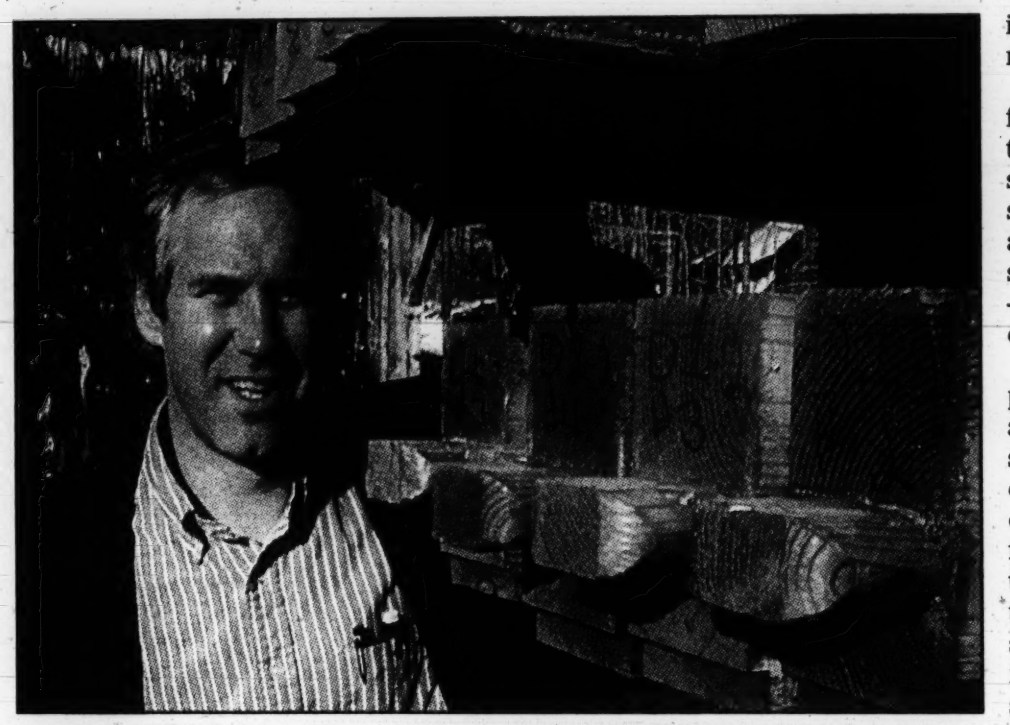
BENSON Woodworking's offices and sheds blend with the trees on one of the dirt roads that wander through this tiny town overlooking the Connecticut River Valley in southern New Hampshire. It's an isolated spot, but the business conducted here is anything but insular, thanks to the energies of its founder, Tedd Benson.

Mr. Benson, who looks remarkably like actor Chevy Chase, has never been one to settle into the routine. While attending Colorado State University in the 1960s, he led efforts to increase the numbers of minority students and teachers. Later, he started an alternative school in Colorado Springs, Colo. After migrating eastward with his wife, Christine, he pursued carpentry and cabinetmaking – an interest that led, in 1974, to starting his own company.

The inspiration for the firm was Benson's rediscovery of the age-old construction technique of timber framing. "From the 1880s in the US, really almost 100 years, it lay unused," Benson said during an interview in Alstead.

An old New Hampshire barn that refused to be pulled down was Benson's introduction to the craft of joining timbers with mortises and tenons. It got him thinking about a construction method that had figured in such enduring marvels of architecture as Europe's cathedrals and Japan's Shinto temples. His thought: Why not make that kind of construction, with its aesthetic and structural pluses, available to Americans today?

In the nearly 20 years since, Benson Woodworking has tackled projects ranging from single-family residences to a four-story office building in Brattleboro, Vt., nicknamed the "Vermonster" by Benson's crew. Among the company's current undertakings is a major section of a new summer home for the Boston Symphony Orchestra at Tanglewood in Lennox, Mass.



TEDD BENSON: *The founder of Benson's Woodworking, a New Hampshire firm specializing in timber-frame construction, is dedicated to fine craftsmanship and staff development.*

When Benson started out, only a couple of other firms were in this business; now there are hundreds across the United States. What distingishes Benson's approach is a reverence for craftsmanship and his desire to nurture the skills and decisionmaking capabilities of individual workers.

"Basically, what you're buying here is craftsmanship," says Ben Brungraber, the operations director and a structural engineer who wrote a dissertation on timber-frame buildings. In this type of building, he says, "the joinery, the connections, are it." The company's quality standards are stringent: Joints have a tolerance of only 1/32 of an inch. But perfection in these matters is elusive. "Sometimes we're lucky to keep up with the Japanese of 1,500 years ago," comments Mr. Brungraber with a wry smile.

The Alstead headquarters employs 32 people. In the woodworking shop, beams and posts, many as large as 12 inches square, rest on long sawhorses and tables. Some are getting an initial planing; others have been sawn to length, with mortises and tenons carved and shaped. Power tools are much in evidence, but hand work is always needed, says Dennis Marcom, who is chiseling out some rough spots on a Douglas fir beam.

This timber, like many used by Benson, was salvaged from an old building in the West. "You have to chip out 'dings' left over from [its] life as a lumber mill," Mr. Marcom explains. "It's part of the territory." Recycled wood makes up an increasing portion of the raw material for timber framing.

The woodworking shop functions inseparably from the design operation upstairs. A central tenet of Benson's is to embrace all aspects of home design – such as plumbing and wiring – in the earliest phases of conceptualizing a building.

Benson's architects, employing both common sense and computer-assisted design, typically follow a project through to completion, often lending a hand at the frame-raising. Strict attention to detail and diligent teamwork also help clients stay within their home-building budgets. Recent ideas-sharing sessions among the staff at Alstead led to a dominant company goal of "improving the quality of peoples' lives." That goal, says Benson, is never served if a builder allows clients to bust their budgets.

That outlook points to a current concern of Benson's – that the construction industry needs to rethink the way its does business. "The structure of the relationships is too adversarial. It begins with the architect, then on to the engineer, who is constrained by what the architect did. Then on to the bids, and people are at the mercy of whoever wins a bid.... The level of commitment at the bottom of this 'food chain' is very low. [The actual builders] haven't been involved in the conception at all."

Benson is determined to change that, at least within his own firm. He encourages employees to use initiative and make decisions. Everyone in the shop, for example, becomes familiar with every tool and skill. Foremen, in the traditional sense, don't exist here.

"It makes everybody a thinker, not just a mechanical doer," says Peter Wotowiec, who left teaching to become a woodworker with Benson's firm.

Benson wants to make timber-frame building, which now costs about $15-a-square-foot more than traditional stick-frame construction, available to a wider range of homeowners. He talks of designs that will combine timber-framing with masonry or other materials to reduce costs. "We're going to be good at building prototypes – that's a good role for us. Ultimately, our highest value might be in our teaching," Benson says.

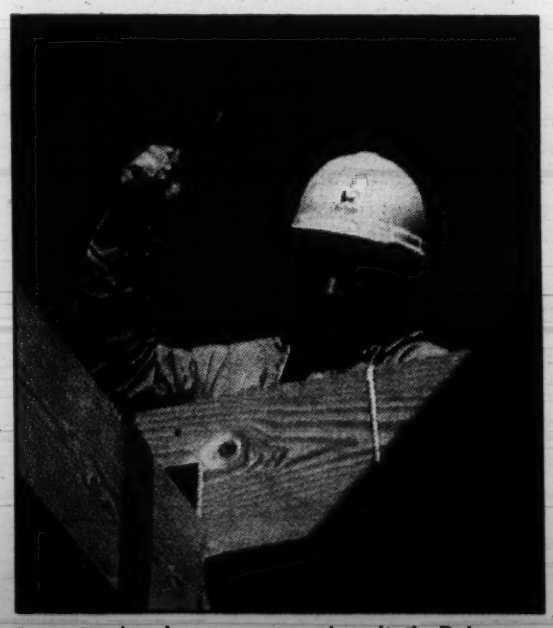
'Putting 'Em Up Is the Most Fun'

PALERMO, MAINE

'THERE'S lots of variety in what we do, but putting 'em up is the most fun," says timber-framer Dennis Marcom, one of a crew of six or seven from Benson Woodworking on hand to raise the frame of a new house on the shore of Sheepscot Pond.

Around the finished foundation of the home, huge sections of the timber frame – assemblies of posts, beams, girts, purlins – have been arranged. Crew leader Robert Polcari, known to his colleagues as "Chops," explains how he has been planning this project for a couple of months, since the job was first scheduled.

The homeowners are John and Marsulla Gleaton. Mrs. Gleaton, a doctor in nearby Augusta, Maine, first heard of timber-framing during a course on shelter alternatives. Her response, she says, was: "Wow, if I was going to build a house, I'd want a timber-frame house."



SNUG FIT: *At a house-construction site in Palermo, Maine, Peter Wotowiec uses his hammer to force a beam into a mortise-and-tenon joint.*

What sold her on Benson was the concept of a "timber-frame home" – other builders she consulted wanted to hide the interior timbers – and Benson Woodworking's commitment to close teamwork.

As a towering crane lifts the frame into place, the Gleatons and a number of other observers stand by, a little awestruck. Brian Smeltz, the architect from Benson Woodworking, is helping with the raising. As the crane operator hoists a section – Mr. Smeltz identifies it as a canted purlin plate – he and another framer give it a "spin" to be sure it arrives in place facing the right direction.

Workers high up in the structure guide the plate toward awaiting mortises. It doesn't just slip comfortably into place. One man throws a hammer to another, who does a bit of pounding.

"That's typical," Smeltz says. If the cutting of mortises and tenons was "a little sloppier, it would fly together easier."

– K. H.

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

SKELETON: *Carpenters Peter Wotowiec (top) and Mark Roentsch (below him) work on the frame of a house in Palermo, Maine.*

ECO-READING

THE E-FACTOR: THE BOTTOM-LINE APPROACH TO ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE BUSINESS, *by Joel Makower (Times Books/Random House, 292 pp., $23).* It is becoming increasingly clear to many business leaders that "thinking green" can be good for profits as well as the for environment. In this book, the editor of "The Green Business Letter" tells why and lays out strategies for reducing waste and pollution. He also describes many success stories of companies that have included such things as "life-cycle analysis" in their manufacturing.

A good resource for eco-minded business people.

ECO-HEROES: TWELVE TALES OF ENVIRONMENTAL VICTORY, *by Aubrey Wallace (Mercury House: San Francisco, Calif., 232 pp., $12.50 paper).* Starting in 1990, the Goldman Environmental Foundation each year has chosen six people to receive an award known unofficially as the "Nobel Prize for environmentalists." The $60,000 prize brings international recognition to grass-roots activists working to preserve a corner of the earth.

Included here are 12 profiles of such people as Wangari Maathai, who founded the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya (where she has been beaten and jailed several times), and Lois Gibbs, the homemaker who fought the toxic wastes buried at Love Canal in upstate New York.

As this book makes clear, many (if not most) of today's "eco-heroes" are women.

ECO-SCAM: THE FALSE PROPHETS OF ECOLOGICAL APOCALYPSE, *by Ronald Bailey (St. Martin's Press, 228 pp., $19.95).* Environmentalism has steadily grown as a cultural and political force over the years, but along with it has come a counter movement that is growing in size and influence as well. Ronald Bailey, a former science and technology writer for Forbes magazine and producer of public television's weekly series "TechnoPolitics," is one of the most articulate spokesman for this effort to rebut organized environmentalism and its most outspoken proponents.

Here, Bailey takes on what he calls "a new generation of doomsters," debunking their predictions on global warming, ozone depletion, population, and depletion of resources, and criticizing "their faulty analyses, their wildly inaccurate predictions, and their heedless politicization of science." One would love to see Bailey debate Vice President Al Gore.

– Brad Knickerbocker

MEDIA

Critics Zero In on TV Violence

By Fred Hift
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

TELEVISION violence – the gratuitous, graphically ugly, often sadistic kind – is under attack, and TV broadcasters are paying close and even anxious attention.

A meeting of top executives in the movie, broadcast-TV, and cable industries is planned for August in Los Angeles to examine the issue and the steps that might be taken to at least partially resolve it.

Last December, seeking to defuse the avalanche of criticism, the networks agreed on a number of vaguely worded standards aiming to cut down on violence and on scenes that "depict violence as glamorous."

Self-regulation urged

The Hollywood conference has been called at the instigation of Sen. Paul Simon (D) of Illinois, who has been in the forefront of those pointing to the growing incidence of violence on the small screen (and the big one, for that matter) and urging the broadcasters to find some means of regulating themselves when it comes to the production of violent incidents in drama.

"I have hopes, not expectations for that meeting," Senator Simon told the Monitor, "My hope is that there will be a general consensus that we really do have a problem that we have to deal with in a responsible way.

"I hope that this conference will create a general atmosphere that recognizes, on the part of all the people who have such influence on the public, that there is a responsibility to move away from the pattern of violence that we have."

There are top people in the television business who are sharply aware not only of the prevalence of violence and the growing objections to it, but also of the impact it has on viewers, particularly young ones. Unbridled violence has become an integral part not only of action drama, but also of the cartoon fare for the very young.

Children's shows are frequently interrupted by commercials featuring violence and brutality in trailers for forthcoming adult action movies.

"There is a cynicism in this society, and it is hard to believe that we may not have had some role in it," said Howard Stringer, president of the CBS Broadcast Group, at a recent industry conference called by Wertheim Schroder and Variety, the trade publication.

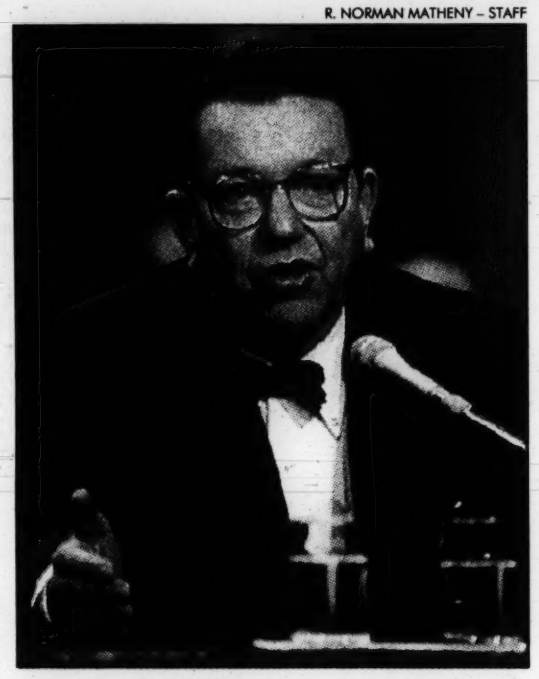
"At CBS, we are going to become much tougher on violence in our lineup this fall," he said. "It is the chill of violence that worries me, not so much the physical action. It is the callousness involved and the role we have in shaping the attitudes of young people to their victims. Gratuitous violence has to be erased from the network. We must admit our responsibility."

It is the impact on the young that particularly concerns many of those who have watched the rise in the level of violence on TV. They perceive it as harmful not only because it is seen stimulating and encouraging aggressive acts, but also because the steady drumbeat of on-air violence threatens to desensitize youngsters to the pain of those on whom it is inflicted, and it diminishes their sense of reality and responsibility.

A survey run in Washington last year by TV Guide on 10 local stations found no fewer than 100 violent scenes per hour. One-third of the violence involved life-threatening assaults. During an 18-hour span, the survey noted 1,846 individual acts of violence.

The American Psychological Association estimates that the average youngster will see 8,000 murders and 100,000 acts of brutality by the time he or she finishes elementary school. The association finds a definite correlation between TV violence and aggressive behavior.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



SIMON: *The Illinois senator has set up an August conference in Los Angeles on TV-film violence.*

However, the practical success of the August conference clearly is not a foregone conclusion. Jack Valenti, the president of the Motion Picture Association of America, which represents the major Hollywood studios (who supply the vast majority of our television programs), sees a "political problem," but expresses the hope that the movie industry can tackle violence "as we did earlier in the case of drugs and alcohol on the screen."

At the same time, Mr. Valenti told the Schroder/Variety symposium: "I am an implacable foe of censorship by any group, self-appointed or elected or otherwise. We must not tell creative people how to tell their stories."

The creative process, Valenti pointed out, "is so fragile, so easily shattered. I would try to direct a creative person to soften a violent scene and still get the same kind of impact."

Public awareness

Senator Simon, unlike others who favor a stronger approach – "if self-regulation doesn't work, let's legislate" – would prefer television cleaned its own house. "I don't want to get into the delicate First Amendment area," he says. "Ideally, we can solve the problem without the heavy hand of government, without setting a precedent which we may regret later."

The American public is sharply aware of the negative influence of violence on television. A recent Times Mirror survey found that 72 percent of Americans surveyed said there was too much of it on entertainment programs; an equal percentage of parents reported turning off the set to protect their children from it.

Television executives, preferring not to be quoted by name, acknowledge that violence exists in TV drama programming because of the perception that it attracts viewers.

They are somewhat pessimistic at the prospects for a serious diminution of on-screen violence precisely because of the commercial aspects of it at a time when the networks are having trouble financially. "The networks will just pay the necessary lip service," observed one.

Senator Simon sees an inconsistency in the public's attitude when it comes to violence on TV. "It's the same inconsistency I face in the Senate," he says. "The public wants lower taxes, but more services and the elimination of the deficit. The same thing with violence: The public objects to it, and yet it is somehow fascinated by it."

James Quello, the temporary chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has warned that an aroused viewing public might ask Congress to legislate against excessive violence. Outspoken Sen. Robert Byrd (D) of West Virginia has indicated that it could eventually be considered a violation of the public trust on the part of the networks.

It is precisely this threat of censorship that worries men like Valenti and others who look back on Hollywood's long and fierce struggle against it. The networks don't deny that they have the legal means to do something about the abundance of violence on the air. They can act under Senator Simon's TV Violence Act, exempting them from antitrust limits and allowing them to establish common rules. The law runs out in December 1993.

US-overseas differences

Katherine Malatesta, who sells Westinghouse's famous Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles series, underscores the difference between the United States and the rest of the world.

"At home, we don't get many objections to violence in our shows," she says. "American kids are used to it. But abroad, it's a very different story. The BBC in Britain wouldn't buy the Turtles unless they could edit out some of the violence.

"It's that version that we sold to the rest of the world. Otherwise the Turtles wouldn't have done nearly as well."

Americans frequently edit programs for export to accommodate the international distaste for violence. "Over there they hate it, but are quite willing to accept sex on TV. We are the exact opposite," observes Brian Lacy, who markets the Zodiac company's animated series.

While there are objections to violence in entertainment shows, it occurs more often in the so-called "reality" programs that offer news footage or skillful, realistic recreations.

"TV news portrays violence but does not glamorize it," Simon says, "but entertainment shows do just that. That is where the problem is, and that is the pattern we must move away from."

Notes on the Media

London Observer preserved

The company that owns The Observer has accepted an offer to sell the 202-year-old newspaper, considered to be the world's oldest Sunday newspaper.

Lonrho PLC, which bought The Observer in 1981, indicated it would accept an offer from The Guardian and Manchester Evening News PLC. The left-leaning Guardian publishes weekdays and Saturday.

Harry Roche, chairman and chief executive of The Guardian and Manchester Evening News, said terms of the offer would not be disclosed until they had been presented to The Observer's board.

Publishers of The Independent and The Sunday Independent also reportedly made a bid for The Observer, and it was thought they would have shut down the newspaper to eliminate a Sunday competitor.

Circulation was down 7.5 percent from a year earlier, putting The Observer third in the "quality" market behind The Sunday Times and the Sunday Telegraph.

Sarajevo newspaper wins award

Delivering the news in the face of death – every day – has won a the Sarajevo newspaper Oslobodjenje Sweden's Freedom Prize.

The prize has been awarded annually since 1982. Former recipients include Poland president, Lech Walesa, and Czech president Vaclav Havel.

Despite the savage civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the siege of Sarajevo, the newspaper's staff has managed to publish daily except once since the conflict started more than a year ago. Two of its journalists have died in the war, and five staff members have disappeared.

The paper is housed in a bomb-proof cellar under its headquarters, which were severely shelled last year. Telephone lines are often down, power cuts are frequent, and a Serbian blockade has made it difficult to get newsprint.

– Compiled by Owen Thomas

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ WEDNESDAY

In the Spotlight *(PBS, 8-9 p.m.)*: In case the title "From Me to You" escapes you, it was the very first No. 1 hit – in Britain – by a group of four young rockers who called themselves the Beatles. That happened 30 years ago – can it be? – and to mark the occasion a concert is airing that features Beatle hits performed by song and dance people who have had one connection or another with the pop legends. The show, filmed at the Kentucky Center of the Arts and called "A Beatles Songbook" – includes a mix of reminiscent interviews.

■ THURSDAY

The American Film Institute Salute to Elizabeth Taylor *(ABC, 9-10 p.m.)*: These yearly AFI tributes take the long view of the people saluted and sometimes reach beyond movies to a notable service to humanity. That's true of this year's choice, Elizabeth Taylor, whose many marriages and general notoriety have tended to obscure her long-term and obviously genuine commitment to AIDS victims. Her efforts in helping fight this disease have not escaped her colleagues, who will be there in force to help honor her – from Michael Jackson to Sidney Poitier to Tom Selleck. Carol Burnett is host, and Dr. Mathilde Krim, cofounder and chairman of The American Foundation for AIDS Research, will describe her association over the years with Ms. Taylor.

Not that the show will fail to note the better-known part of Taylor's life – her film roles. After all, she's won two Best Actress Oscars – rare for any actor, man or woman: Martha in "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" and Gloria Wandrous in "Butterfield 8." Only three other women, in fact, have been picked for the salute since the occasion started 21 years ago (Bette Davis in 1977, Lillian Gish in 1984, and Barbara Stanwyck in 1987). Clips of Taylor's decades of filmmaking are spotted throughout the hour, and some fans will mentally screen bits from their own favorite roles – like Taylor as the horse-crazy kid in "National Velvet," or as the girl in "Father of the Bride" whose dazzling beauty barely avoids upstaging a skillful acting job.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

FILM

Chaplin, Keaton – and Lloyd

New York's Film Forum offers retrospective of this lesser-known silent comic from the 1920s

PHOTOS COURTESY OF FILM FORUM

'HOT WATER': *A scene from the 1924 film, included in the retrospective, depicts an agitated Harold Lloyd being ejected from a streetcar with a prize turkey in hand.*

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

EVERYONE who likes silent comedy, from die-hard fans to casual channel-switchers, has a mental image of Harold Lloyd's greatest moment. There he is on the side of a skyscraper – it must be miles above the street, and he's grabbed a clock so he won't fall, but the minute-hand is bending away from the clockface, and Lloyd is dangling over the precipice below....

The movie is "Safety Last," and it has entered the film-history books as one of the most fondly remembered comedies of the 1920s. It is also one of the premier attractions in "Harold Lloyd 100: A Centennial Retrospective," a tribute at Manhattan's enterprising Film Forum, designed to celebrate Lloyd's artistry, a century after his birth.

As the most famous picture of Lloyd's career, "Safety Last" serves as an excellent symbol for his work as a whole. If this much-loved classic has done much to secure his reputation as a silent clown, however, its vast popularity has also overshadowed his many other achievements.

Even among his admirers, how many know that Lloyd appeared in more films than his two chief competitors – Charles Chaplin and Buster Keaton – put together? That he rivaled or surpassed both of them in ticket sales? That he played an active role in making his films as well in starring in them, although he never took public credit for this?

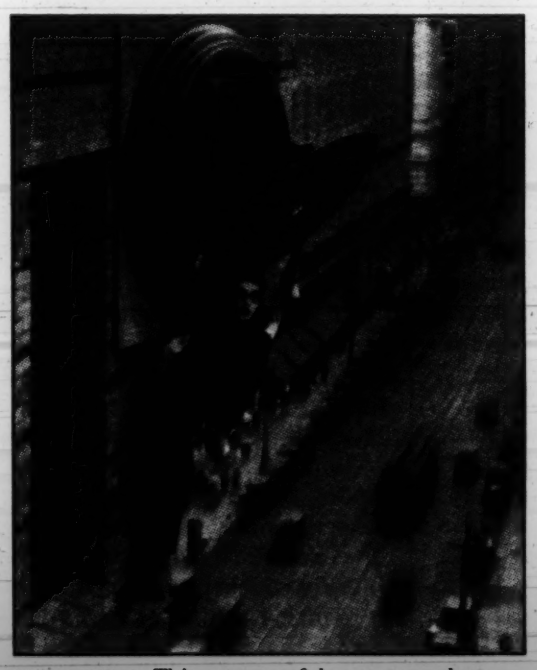
Lloyd was partly responsible for his third-place position (behind Chaplin and Keaton), in the popular imagination.

In a Film Comment article, film historian Kevin Brownlow writes that Lloyd was so nervous about how audiences would react to his later movies that he withheld the films from distribution, so that only some very early pictures (made before his talent blossomed around 1920) were widely available for viewing.

An effort to reintroduce his work after his death in the early '70s was also botched, adding narrations and showy music scores to movies that don't need extra gimmicks.

The extensive Film Forum show promises to be a major step in the rehabilitation of Lloyd's reputation. Organized by Bruce Goldstein, director of repertory programming, it consists of 37 films including all of Lloyd's features – silent and sound alike – and a large selection of shorts.

"There's always someone who defines a generation," said Mr. Goldstein when asked what made Lloyd such a successful screen comedian, "and Lloyd defined the '20s better than almost anyone else. Chaplin was steeped in Victorian times, and Keaton was in another universe altogether – almost too weird for the really big mass audience. Lloyd epitomized the American go-getter, but it was the *nice* side of the go-getter."



'SAFETY LAST': *This suspenseful moment, when Lloyd hangs from a minute hand, was made famous in the comedian's much-loved classic.*

Goldstein says that looking at Lloyd's movies gives a privileged glimpse into the 1920s, which was the decade of his greatest success.

"In the '20s there was a feeling that anything was possible with enough gumption and will power," he notes. "Lloyd played an ordinary guy who just shlumps along until he realizes he has to solve a problem. Then he finds qualities he didn't know he had, and pulls off amazing things – defeating the villain, winning his loved one.

"He was someone people could really identify with," Goldstein adds, "even as a romantic star – almost like Douglas Fairbanks, with his youthful vitality and acrobatic grace.

"He was a real crossover comedian, and he reminded people that even a movie clown didn't have to be grotesque to be funny. He showed there was comedy in everyday life."

Highlights of the Lloyd retrospective range from "The Freshman," the 1925 picture that became his biggest box-office hit, to 1920 comedies like "Captain Kidd's Kids" and "An Eastern Westerner."

A program of Lonesome Luke pictures and early one-reelers featuring "the glasses character," are also being shown.

Later movies include "The Cat's Paw" from 1934 and "Professor Beware" from 1938, as well as the 1962 compilation film "Harold Lloyd's World of Comedy."

ALSO on view is "The Sin of Harold Diddlebock," made by Preston Sturges in 1947 – just before Lloyd retired from the movie world – and meant as a tribute to Lloyd by one of the Hollywood giants he strongly influenced.

Although it isn't one of Sturges's greatest comedies, it has some marvelous Lloyd moments, and should be seen in its original version rather than the altered edition ("Mad Wednesday") that producer Howard Hughes initially released.

All films in the retrospective will be shown in complete 35-mm prints, many of them from Lloyd's personal collection. That in itself is cause for celebration.

■ *"Harold Lloyd 100: A Centennial Retrospective," began April 30 and runs through June 3 at Manhattan's Film Forum.*

Making a City's Memories Visible

Artist's interviews – and his interviewees' artwork – help form Pittsburgh drawing

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

DOUG COOPER: *'There are things that are silly in it; things that are sentimental,' he says of the mural. There are touching or tragic things, too.*

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

MOST people see a city, visit its sights, meander through its streets. Artist Doug Cooper tries to live it. Right now, he's wandering Pittsburgh's past through the memories of three women from the city's north side.

"Did you used to go in with your mother?" he asks Pauline Rudis. She's describing a hat store she remembers from childhood. Mr. Cooper listens intently, drawing all the while.

While Mrs. Rudis and Irene Scott prefer to tell Cooper their stories, Frances Laurina draws hers on rice paper. She lays out the streets and draws the important buildings. The result is something less than a Rembrandt. "I don't know how you are going to make it all out," she sighs.

But Cooper does. After each session, he takes these childlike drawings and stories and pastes them onto his monumental collage mural of Pittsburgh. It's called "The Visible City." But it really is the invisible city, a repository of Pittsburgh stories.

Retirees remember an unusual day at the factory, or going for a drive on Saturday night. In one part of Cooper's collage, he has drawn a park bench where someone's uncle dressed as a woman to play a practical joke. (It took three dates before the "woman's" suitor discovered the ruse.) Mrs. Laurina draws a house where she often heard loud piano music. She learned much later that the music covered up the sounds of a tunnel the family was digging to free someone from prison.

Every Monday afternoon, Cooper meets a handful of Pittsburghers at Vintage, a nonprofit service center for seniors. Each group represents a section of the city. They gather for three or four Mondays, then Cooper gathers a new set of volunteers.

"There are things that are silly in it; things that are sentimental," Cooper says. If that's were all it was, "you would say it's trite. But if you include something with stories about this personal tragedy or that disaster, then it's really part of the whole picture, part of the whole city."

Cooper has wrapped these memories with his own vision of the city. He bends Pittsburgh's already twisted streets and hills into impossible angles and perspectives. A lamppost shoots off in one direction while its companion is tilted another.

Cooper, associate head of the architecture department at Carnegie Mellon University here, has had several solo shows in New York and Cologne, Germany, over the years. His work is now shown at the Mendelson Gallery here.

"It's very sophisticated art," says Leon Arkus, director emeritus of Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum of Art who bought several of

ARTS

Cooper's works for the museum. "It's not at all primitive or naive." One of Cooper's pieces was so big that the museum could not hang it on the walls: They had to display it by laying it on the floor.

Cooper started "The Visible City" last spring. He hopes to complete it in September. It will be 120 feet long and 12 feet high, spread across 74 panels. Except for some small touches of acrylic color, it is grays and whites – vine charcoal on paper.

The panels flow sequentially along Pittsburgh's Monongahela River, capturing river communities as well as downtown. Look closely, though, and the piece bends time just as it bends space. One panel shows downtown today; nearby it is drawn as it was in the 1940s. On either side of the huge work Cooper has drawn porches, so that it seems the viewer is sitting on one of the city's overlooks. On one of those porches, Cooper has painted himself, playing cards in a 1940s setting.

"People get lost when they look at this," Cooper says. "In some ways, that's the point."

At the moment, he's sorting through Rudis's story.

"Yes," Rudis answers, she did go into the hat shop with her mother. "That was before I learned to make my own," she adds with a twinkle.

Cooper discovers that Rudis was a milliner at a fashionable department store in downtown Pittsburgh. So he abandons the hat store and begins drawing the inside of the downtown department store and the fourth floor where Rudis made hats.

"We had tables like that," Rudis says, seizing the pencil and drawing the layout of her department.

He coaxes her to remember the names of her supervisor and co-workers. They are names she hasn't thought of in years. Clearly, she enjoys the exercise.

So does Joanne Lowery of Pittsburgh's Greenfield district. "I think it's the most exciting thing," she says, surveying the drawings strewn on the table. "Look at all these memories."

Portions of the piece have already been shown publicly. It is scheduled to be exhibited this summer (June 12-Aug. 8) at the Carnegie Museum of Art.

Sports Fans Revel In Seasonal Riches

IT'S the time of year when even the most avid sports enthusiast may reach the saturation point: Basketball and hockey playoffs under way, the baseball season a month old, and even off-season football news muscling into the picture – not to mention the annual renewal of golf, tennis, the Kentucky Derby and2 the Indy 500.

This spring's headlines have concerned the gridiron even more than usual, starting with the dilemma of Joe Montana and the San Francisco 49ers. What to do when the architect of four Super Bowl titles recovers from two injury-filled years while his replacement, Steve Young, evolves into the game's top quarterback? Something had to give, and Montana moved on.

So the man who has arguably been the game's biggest star over the past decade will try to work his Super Bowl wonders in a Kansas City uniform next season. And as he heads into the twilight of his career, two young quarterbacks prepare to launch theirs as this year's top draft choices.

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

Drew Bledsoe from Washington State and Rick Mirer of Notre Dame are the "heirs apparent," and it was a guessing game until the last minute as to which would be No. 1. It was Bledsoe, who went to the struggling New England Patriots, after which Seattle selected Mirer.

Now for the irony of ironies: This was not the first time a Washington State quarterback was drafted ahead of a Notre Dame rival. It happened in 1979, when Cincinnati selected Jack Thomson and later the 49ers took a young signal-caller named ... Joe Montana.

Another item of interest was that Heisman Trophy-winner Gino Toretta of Miami lasted until Minnesota finally called his name in the seventh round. This isn't as surprising as it might seem, however, as pro teams aren't looking for exactly the same attributes that make great college players. If Toretta needs any consolation or inspiration, he can note that 30 years ago another Heisman winner wasn't picked until the 10th round, yet did pretty well for himself. His name: Roger Staubach.

Baseball starts out topsy-turvy

Baseball always has a large helping of surprises before the stronger teams settle into stride and rise to the top over the 162-game season. But things seem even more askew than usual this spring: You could hold a lot of preseason forecasts upside down and come out with the current standings.

Detroit and Boston, teams expected to struggle near the cellar, are dueling for the lead in the American League East lead. Ditto California in the AL West and Philadelphia in the National League East.

Meanwhile Atlanta, an overwhelming choice to repeat its World Series appearances of the past two years, is struggling to play .500 ball in the NL West while Houston and San Francisco enjoy life at the top.

By July 4th or so, many of these races will look a lot more the way they were expected to – but not necessarily all of them. Occasionally a surprise team starts believing in itself and keeps going, and a superior club can hit slumps, injuries – or overconfidence and complacency – and suddenly find itself in trouble.

Could this happen in the NL West? Atlanta is certainly having more difficulties than anyone anticipated, including the defection of star outfielder Deion Sanders in what appears to be a clash of wills with management over his salary negotiations and playing time.

How much this situation is affecting the team's performance is something no one can know for certain. But while the Braves try to get on track, the Giants are beginning to look as though they could be for real, with the addition of free-agent superstar Barry Bonds the big equalizer so far.

Bonds has been spectacular, hitting well over .400 and ranking among the leaders in home runs and RBIs. When lesser players have hot starts, as some do every year, it's often just a matter of time before they cool off. But with a player of Bonds's stature (most valuable player in two of the last three years; he's generally recognized as the best in the game), you have to consider the possibility that he might keep it up, have a career year, and carry the club with him – as he did for the last three years in Pittsburgh.

– Larry Eldridge

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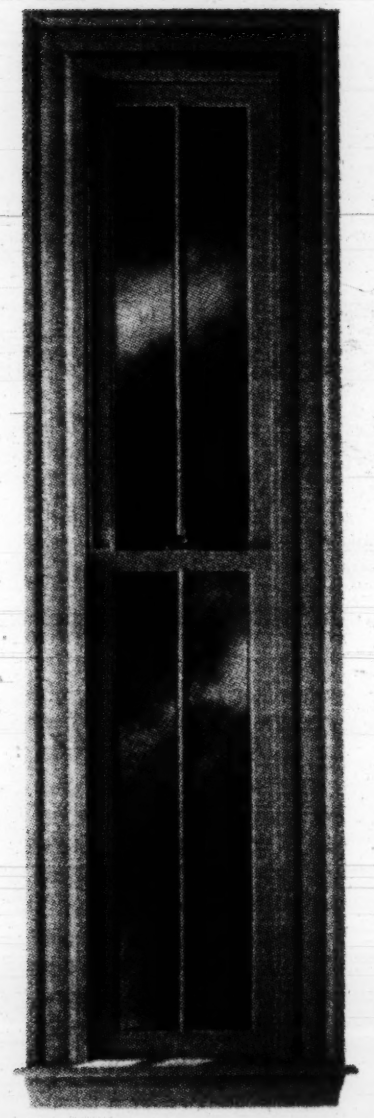

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The Home Forum.

ILLUSTRATION BY SANDRA KAPLAN

Granna's Secret Doll Cupboard

LILLIE missed her grandmother. "Granna" often came to visit Lillie and her little brother Jacob in Boston, but they had never seen her house in faraway Colorado.

Nestled in the foothills outside of Denver, Granna's large, old country house had plenty of room for the small treasures and curious furniture collected over the 100 years since the family had built the house in 1891. Lillie had often heard her mother try to persuade her grandmother to sell the house and move east, but the older lady only laughed. All her friends and all the charities she volunteered for needed her. And then there was her work. She wrote stories about Colorado. So how could she leave the Rocky Mountains? What, in heaven's name, would she have to write about?

So Granna would not leave her fascinating house where her father had brought her mother as a bride, where she had been born, and where Lillie's mother had been brought up.

One summer, just as the fifth grade ended for Lillie and the third grade for Jacob, Granna invited the children to spend part of the summer with her. It happened that their parents would be very busy with their new business, and their mother felt they would be happier in the big house in Denver.

So Lillie and Jacob went to Colorado to stay with their grandmother. They spent days exploring the house while she worked on her stories, cleaned, gardened, or baked delicious breads and cookies. When Granna had to be away, her friend, Mrs. Iafrati, looked after them. It was an exciting time, full of adventure and daily discoveries.

The house had many rooms, and each room was filled with old photographs, paintings, books, lace doilies, and Victorian chairs and chests. Granna gave the children permission to inspect every nook and cranny. There were cupboards and closets to explore, mysterious locked boxes and keys to open them with, and more treasures inside.

Sometimes the children found jewelry, sometimes letters, sometimes odd little objects – an "uluak" (an Eskimo "woman's knife"), an ancient jade animal that came from China, and a box of old carved wooden buttons. In one box was a beautiful tapestry ribbon from France that once had adorned the neck of the 19th-century English actress Lillie Langtry (after whom Lillie had been named).

One day as Lillie and Jacob were exploring, they found a door that they had missed before. It led up to a room called a cupola, a round room at the top of the house with lots of windows. There was a comfortable couch covered in sky-blue brocade, a few chairs, and a large, low table. In one corner, standing against the only wall in the room, was an antique breakfront. The top part was a cupboard with stained-glass doors. The bottom was a chest of drawers.

KIDSPACE

'Kidspace' is a place on The Home Forum pages where kids can find stories that will spark imaginations, entertain with a tall tale, explain how things work, or describe a real-life event. These articles appear twice a month, usually on Tuesdays.

There was something special about the old chest. Lillie thought so, and Jacob agreed. The stained glass made it impossible to tell what was inside. But the children knew it would be something amazing, especially since they couldn't find the key.

"Granna," said Lillie at supper that night. "We found a cupboard and chest thing in that round room on top of the house."

"Yes, indeed," said Granna.

"But it was locked," said Jacob.

"Well, it is a very special cupboard," said Granna.

"Why? What makes it special?" asked Lillie.

"That's the doll cupboard," replied Granna.

"Doll cupboard? Do you have dolls?" asked Lillie, who had begun to feel she was too old for dolls because Melissa and Jane, her two best friends, thought dolls were for little kids. Still, Lillie liked dolls more than she would admit.

"Oh, yes," replied Granna. "I have dolls. I have a great many dolls. But the best of them are locked in the cupboard."

"Why locked?" Jacob asked.

"Because, to me, they are treasures. But, tomorrow I will give you the key and you can take them down and have a look for yourselves."

The next day, Lillie and Jacob took the key their grandmother gave them and went up the stairs to the cupola. Lillie reached up and inserted the funny old hollow key in the lock. The lock wouldn't budge. She jiggled it, and finally it turned. The hinges were stiff with age and the door creaked open slowly. Lillie pushed back both the doors to gaze in wonder at the collection.

"Jacob, look at that," said Lillie.

"Lillie, why would a grandmother keep dolls?" Jacob asked.

"I don't know," said Lillie, puzzled too. Didn't grown-ups get too old for toys? But, anyway, these dolls were so wonderful – better than any toy store she and Jacob had ever been in. They came in all colors, nationalities, and ages.

As Lillie and Jacob took them down one by one, each doll seemed special in different ways. This one was Chinese, that one native American, another Russian, another Mexican, and another Scandinavian. The children placed them on the table to admire them.

"Go ahead and play with them all you like," said Granna, who had been watching from the door. She came in the room and sat down on the sofa and pulled a doll onto her lap. It was a doll that had been hers when she was a child, and it was dressed in a long white gown and matching bonnet. The doll's name was Allison, and Granna told Lillie and Jacob how she had awakened on Christmas morning when she was 11 to find Allison under the tree.

"In those days, a little girl was not too old for dolls until she was 14 or so. I loved Allison so much. And then somehow, over the years, I lost her. One day, when your own mother was about your age, Jacob, she found Allison in this cupboard. My mother had wrapped her in tissue and put her

Pal, the Neighborhood's Favorite Dog

THE dog I'll always remember wasn't just my dog. He belonged to the whole neighborhood, actually, from the moment we all saw him as a little puppy, bouncing along at the end of a very long leash with his official owners, a young couple with a toddler son in a stroller. The puppy's name was Pal, and he was a sleek black Labrador retriever whose coat looked like it got a good brushing every day.

The first thing you noticed about Pal was that he had very big feet, so big for a pup that you knew he was going to grow into a big, strong, muscular dog. He loved his family, pausing often to let them catch up, then jumping up for a pat.

As Pal grew up, literally by leaps and bounds, I often wondered if he were getting obedience-school training, because there was never any doubt that he felt he had a job to do – guarding his family. And when his toddler grew up and was in school nearby, Pal pretty much patrolled the neighborhood and was known as a friend to all the kids. He roved freely, and nobody complained about that. We all loved him because he loved us.

If Pal especially liked you, he would accompany you along the streets over to the bus stop, or even over to the grocery store. It was a sort of status symbol.

One day, on impulse, because Pal was gazing steadily at me while I nibbled on a big, crunchy oatmeal cookie, with chocolate bits and nuts, I gave him the last part of it. Actually, I thought it best, so that Pal wouldn't sound off with that deep baritone bark of his. It was definitely the OK thing to do – and he chomped it up appreciatively.

After that, Pal put me on his list. If I went over to the grocery store, Pal would materialize from somewhere and go with me, waiting patiently outside until I was ready to trudge up the hill with my grocery bags. First, he always got his cookie break. Oatmeal cookies became a staple on my grocery list, unless I found time to bake some myself. Other shoppers would say, "Nice dog you've got there," and I would nod and smile.

My sister and I both had jobs over in Washington, D. C., and our little neighborhood, across the Potomac in suburban Virginia, was known as Lyon Park. I remember the first time Pal took us over to the bus stop one early morning. We were concerned and talked to him, telling him to "go home, now," and that he couldn't get on the bus. He looked at us with great patience, as if to say, "Not to worry. I don't ride buses. I only provide escorts." So we got the picture as we watched him trotting off. People on the bus would say, "Is that your dog?" And we would answer, "He's everybody's dog. He's Lyon Park's dog!"

One evening in early winter when it was beginning to get dark sooner, my sister and I met after work downtown and had a bite to eat at our favorite restaurant. By the time we caught our bus and crossed Key Bridge into Virginia, it was really dark.

As we got off the bus, a few lights were on in the little houses up the hill, but mostly there was nobody around. One man suddenly got off the bus behind us and started walking after us up the hill. He wasn't anyone we knew, so we started walking a bit faster. He quickened his pace, too. We almost felt like running but realized it wasn't a good idea. And the man kept getting closer.

THEN suddenly out of the darkness, Pal appeared, dog tags jingling. We greeted him with more than our usual warmth. He was so big and comforting. Pal stopped and looked the man over very carefully. And at a very appropriate time, as it turned out, Pal growled. It was his most deep-toned growl. There was a lot of authority back of that growl.

The man quickly disappeared down a side road, which led to a dead end – which was something he could find out for himself. Pal escorted us all the way home to our front porch door. We didn't have any oatmeal cookies that time, but he accepted a Fig Newton and a lot of loving and head patting. And Pal shook himself all over, as if to say: "Mission accomplished!"

After that, I saw to it that we had plenty of his favorite crunchy cookies on hand for any occasion. Because we felt sure Pal had performed beyond the call of duty that night. Special overtime detail, you might say.

Pal was our knight in a shining, well-brushed coat.

Phyllis J. Harte

Close Friends

(Written especially for young people)

DO you hang out with a certain group of friends? If you do, you probably spend a lot of time together—at school, after school, and talking on the phone! There are things you laugh about that only you and your best friends understand. You probably dress a lot alike. Talk alike. Agree about most everything.

What do you do when the people you've spent so much time with, the people you have more fun with than *anyone* else, do things that you are sure just can't be too smart? I was in a store with my best friends—guys I'd known for years—and they stole these earrings to give to some girls. My stomach felt pretty weak when they showed the earrings to me. I knew that in the eyes of the police just being with these guys when they were stealing made me guilty too. And somehow I felt that if I went along with them this time, I'd get used to feeling guilty and wouldn't care at all about honesty anymore. I started feeling pretty bad about this.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

These were the guys I spent almost all of my spare time with—my parents even told me that I spent too much time with them! We helped each other do things, we played sports together, we joked and laughed with each other all the time. What would I do every day without them? Now, all of a sudden things were different. They just didn't understand how I felt about being honest.

You can tell that honesty is important to me. At the church I go to, the Christian Science church, I've learned this: "Honesty is spiritual power. Dishonesty is human weakness, which forfeits divine help." Mary Baker Eddy, who founded the Christian Science Church, wrote that in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, and I believe it. Divine help means God's help. What I've been learning about God's help has made me interested in what the Bible says about Christ Jesus—and what Jesus thought was most important for people to think about.

Once he said, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." This is one of the Beatitudes, and it's in the Bible in Matthew's Gospel. *Righteousness* is a word people don't use that much today. But it still matters. Someone who hungers after righteousness is a person who wants to be very fair and just, and who really tries to do what is right. To me, honesty is part of being fair and just and doing what is right for other people—and for me too. I think I'm as hungry to learn about God—and honesty—as I sometimes am for a cheeseburger! Well, even more than a cheeseburger! And because "honesty is spiritual power," I know God wants it for me.

And what God wants for me is exactly what I want, really. So I decided that even if my friends were messing up, I wasn't going to be part of it. I decided that I'd stay away from them until they stopped stealing. I don't think I'm any better than they are, I just think honesty is more important than the approval of these friends, and as hard as it seemed, even their companionship.

And believe me, they thought I was a fool—and told me so. But guess what? When they gave the earrings to those girls at a party that night, the girls figured out that the earrings were stolen. One of them started to cry. My friends decided to take them back to the store the next day.

My friends and I are still pretty close. I hang out with only a couple of them now—the ones who don't try to force me to do things I don't want to do. I also have new friends that I respect and really have fun with. I still talk with my other friends, and when they're through trying and doing things that aren't so smart, I'm sure we'll be just as close as ever.

away for me. I was so glad to see the doll, and she brought back so many happy memories that I decided to build a collection for your mother – and now for both of you. You see the nutcracker, Jacob? I bought him when you were a small baby, just for you to find here someday.

"TOM Sawyer over there is one of my favorites. I'm going to read that book to you both before you go home. There is King Arthur. And the Navajo dolls I bought when I was traveling in Arizona. And this little fellow – I thought you might like to know what you looked like as a baby, Jacob, because his expression reminded me of yours. All these dolls are for the two of you. And every one of them has a special story I will tell you, one by one."

Then Granna rose to go. "But for now, you make up your own stories about them," she said as she handed Allison to Lillie. "I know your stories will be quite as splendid as any I will tell you."

The children spent all afternoon playing with the dolls. They found even more dolls in the drawers of the chest. Tin soldiers, carved wooden angels, fairy-tale dolls, a beautiful Japanese lady in a kimono, an old-fashioned American lady in a pioneer dress, an English lady in a bustle. There were so many dolls. Some came from long ago, and others were new. In one drawer was an astonishing variety of sock dolls and rag dolls.

It was a very happy day, and there were many more to follow – days of stories about where each of the dolls had come from. And Granna kept her promise to read "Tom Sawyer" aloud. She also read "Alice in Wonderland," "King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table," fairy stories, and other books – and all the stories had their own dolls.

When the summer ended, Granna told the children to choose one doll each to take home. She said they could choose another doll every time they came for a visit. Then the doll cupboard would stay special to them for a long time. Jacob chose King Arthur immediately. Lillie took a long time to decide. Finally, she picked up Allison.

Granna smiled. She knew Lillie wanted to take home more than just a doll, but the memories of the whole summer, too. And there was something else. Allison was part of Granna's history – an important part of her life when she was Lillie's own age. To hold Allison was to think of Granna as a little girl and to love the doll she had loved – the doll she *still* loved. It made Lillie feel closer to Granna somehow, and Allison would make Colorado seem much closer to Boston.

Marilynne S. Mason

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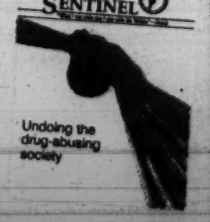

Undoing the drug-abusing society

OPINION/ESSAYS

Proposed Btu tax makes the most sense if implemented without subsidies

Costly, Subsidized Energy Not Necessary

By Daniel Yoon and Amory B. Lovins

PRESIDENT Clinton's welcome proposal for a British thermal unit (Btu) tax could reduce the deficit twice as fast if it also milked an overlooked cash cow: federal energy subsidies. Washington spends tens of billions of dollars a year on subsidies, mainly to the nuclear and fossil fuel industries. It's better to let all energy options compete on economic merit.

Does it make sense to keep subsidizing a commodity heavily while taxing it lightly? The debate over energy taxes has miraculously missed this question.

Why not remove subsidies and price all energy forms closer to their true cost by applying an economically rational tax? This would not only at least double revenues; it would also revitalize business by encouraging more competitive levels of energy efficiency, free up enormous amounts of capital now invested uneconomically in energy supply, and reduce environmental damage from energy use. This market-oriented prescription would promote both conservative fiscal priorities and liberal social goals.

The proposed Btu tax is basically sensible, but would be even better if it cut subsidies, too. Direct subsidies include tax breaks, cheap loans and guarantees, and R&D funding, which goes mostly to "clean coal" (which isn't), nuclear fusion (which hasn't delivered any power), and nuclear fission (which now delivers less energy than wood).

The Department of Energy recently estimated total energy subsidies at $5 billion to $13 billion, but failed to include several pricey items such as many tax breaks and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The Alliance to Save Energy will soon release a study showing a real total more than twice as large.

These studies didn't even count major indirect subsidies. For example, peacetime readiness of American forces earmarked for Persian Gulf intervention costs taxpayers a whopping $50 billion a year. In a rational world we would spend this money on reducing dependence on foreign oil, or at least pay this cost at the pump and not from taxes.

Mr. Clinton's proposed Btu tax is estimated to bring in some $71 billion over four years – substantially less than what the government will meanwhile pay out in energy subsidies. The president has proposed to reduce (though not remove) some energy subsidies. However, most subsidies remain, and even more have been proposed for nuclear fusion, an uneconomic option.

The Btu tax could also be improved by fully reflecting such social and environmental costs of energy use as urban air pollution and nuclear-waste clean up. These costs should be internalized into the price of energy through a "polluter pays" tax, which is preventive and costs less than paying later through public health and environmental degradation. Quantifying these costs is difficult.

Energy efficiency would free up the enormous amounts of capital committed each year for uneconomic investments in supply.

Researchers at the University of California at Davis have estimated total vehicle-related emissions costs at $10 billion to $200 billion. That's a big range, but at least we know that these costs are greater than zero, and it's better to be approximately right than precisely wrong.

The benefits of taking a more comprehensive approach would be great. Economic *glasnost* – prices that tell the truth – would encourage energy efficiency throughout the economy. Major efficiency gains are both technologically and financially feasible. Such gains do not mean making sacrifices and freezing in the dark, but doing more with less – using far less energy (and money) to get the same hot showers.

Many businesses in the United States and abroad are taking advantage of these profit opportunities.

At the same time, energy efficiency would free up the enormous amounts of capital committed each year for uneconomic investments in energy supply.

For many years annual investment in and subsidy of electricity supply have totaled about $60 billion – equal to total investment in all durable-goods manufacturing. Expensive forms of energy such as coal and nuclear would give way to cheaper and cleaner sources such as efficiency and many renewables.

It's argued that energy taxes are regressive, that they hurt the poor more than the rich. Actually, the fraction of income spent directly and indirectly on energy hardly varies with income. In any case, it is unwise social and economic policy to keep prices of basic commodities like energy artificially low for everyone, including the rich, in order to help only the poor. It makes more sense to help those in need to invest in energy efficiency to lower their bills and to make them better off overall. For homes in the Northeast, why not invest in insulation and burn less oil rather than subsidize fuel and burn more? Dollar per dollar, investing in energy efficiency creates several-fold more local jobs than investment in energy supply. For coal regions, why not invest a share of the tax revenues and create jobs that will outlive the mines?

Clinton's Btu tax is a good start, but going further, now or later, will reveal even bigger opportunities to reduce the deficit and invest in American jobs and growth.

■ *Daniel Yoon and Amory B. Lovins are, respectively, senior research associate and director of research at Rocky Mountain Institute in Old Snowmass, Colo.*

Clinton Critics Should Give the President More Time

GODFREY SPERLING

WE all knew Ronald Reagan; and, certainly, Bill Clinton is no Ronald Reagan. Mr. Reagan is that amiable actor-president who told good stories but had only a vague idea of what was going on.

That's the way a lot of Clinton supporters portray a man who, as they see it, bamboozled the voters into keeping him in office for two terms.

This is not to be a paean of praise for Reagan, whose detachment from details did get him into trouble in the Iran-contra dust-up and whose privatization of humanitarianism never reached out far enough to the needy.

But Reagan came into the presidency with two clear objectives: to stimulate the economy through tax cuts, and to make sure the United States held the military edge over the Soviets. With single-mindedness he got the job done.

With persistence and sweet persuasion he talked Congress into going along with him. He got his program through, expeditiously, although he had never promised what Mr. Clinton pledged to the voters: That he would give them "an explosive, 100-day action period" that would be "the most productive period in modern history."

To achieve this goal Clinton aides let it be known that he would use Reagan as his model in his early dealings with Congress.

Well, Clinton is, indeed, stirring things up. There's a health-care program that is supposed to include everyone; there's an aid program for Russia; there's campaign-spending reform; there's a national service program; there's protection for the environment, and on and on – all on Clinton's agenda. And no one can say that he (and the first lady) aren't giving their all to see that they get all of this done.

Yet at the 100-day mark Clinton had set for himself he clearly hadn't delivered.

I don't think the 100-day test should apply. Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to work marvels during that period of time. But the climate was right for marvels; the American people, suffering from the Great Depression, were crying out for help. There's been no period as severe as that since Roosevelt.

Clinton's 100-day pledge may have been what is sometimes called "campaign rhetoric," to be excused by some observers because of being uttered during the heat of political combat when such excesses do sometimes occur. But this is the same president who hardly missed a day without lambasting President Bush for breaking his "read-my-lips" pledge not to raise taxes.

Clinton used an interesting word in explaining how he had "misgauged" the climate in the Senate that ended up in the rejection of his $16 billion economy-stimulus package. What he also may have "misgauged" is the mood of the American people, who are showing that they may want change – but that they want change without pain or, at least, not too much pain.

But 100 days in office is too early to make a firm judgment on a president. Even a record low in public approval at this juncture should not cause anyone to give up on Clinton. He has enormous resources of energy, and he's literally working night and day. He is the most personable president of my memory since John Kennedy – except for Reagan. And in some ways he is a more likable fellow than Reagan. To many people, Clinton seems more genuine, more authentically sincere.

But Clinton must learn that he simply can't do *everything* – certainly not everything at once. Funny thing, as I write this I am reminded that I was writing this same thing during Jimmy Carter's stay in the White House. Mr. Carter, too, had far too much on his plate.

So my advice to the president is this: Do take your cue from Ronald Reagan and simplify your objectives. Your political aide put it just right when he had that sign raised in the crowd when you were speaking: "It's the economy, stupid."

Just keep your eye on the economy, Mr. President. Don't be diverted – except when an emergency, like Bosnia or Waco, does require your attention.

Peace in Serbia Will Depend On Anti-Nationalists

By Richard Caplan

As the Clinton administration contemplates bold measures in response to Serbian aggression in Bosnia, including the use of air strikes, it is giving insufficient attention to additional and far less risky options that are critical to establishing a stable peace there.

The administration is correct to support the efforts of the international community to isolate Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, as it did last week when it tightened the economic embargo against Belgrade (though it is wrong to exempt Croatia, which is also preying on Bosnia, from punishment). Mr. Milosevic's support of Bosnia's waring Serbs has allowed the carnage to continue virtually unchecked. Only if Milosevic is thoroughly discredited in the eyes of his own people – only if he is seen to be responsible for the fierce hardship Serbia can now expect to suffer – will it be possible to loose his hold on the public imagination.

But if sanctions (and possibly military action) should eventually succeed in undermining support for Milosevic, then what? The international community has done little to strengthen the anti-nationalist opposition in Serbia with whom resides the hope for a Serbia willing to live at peace with its neighbors and with its own mixed populations. And if the opposition languishes for want of support, there is no reason why a fallen Milosevic will not be replaced by an even more odiously nationalist demagogue.

Throughout the former Yugoslavia, wherever chauvinist nationalism has reared its head, there are individuals like Vesna Pesic fighting against policies of national hatred and war.

President Clinton took a step in the right direction last week when he met with Vesna Pesic, a leading Serbian anti-war activist, who was in the United States to receive an award from the National Endowment for Democracy. Director of the Center for Anti-War Action in Belgrade and head of the opposition Civil Alliance of Serbia, Ms. Pesic is one of many tireless and courageous citizens struggling to keep alive the flame of tolerance and inclusive democracy in her native home.

In fact, throughout the former Yugoslavia, wherever chauvinist nationalism has reared its head, there are individuals like Pesic fighting against policies of national hatred and war – whether they are intellectuals seeking to dispel the myths that sustain the war, journalists challenging the official accounts of the war, or ordinary citizens who simply refuse to acquiesce in the pressures of the war. Even in Banja Luka, a Bosnian Serb stronghold, a small multi-ethnic group has formed to preserve the ideal of peaceful coexistence.

These people need to be recognized and supported. They need to know that they have the backing of the international community, that they are not struggling in obscurity. And they need to be able to offer tangible evidence to a public that may be induced to search for alternative leadership that the future lies with them and not with war-mongers.

Yet until her meeting with Mr. Clinton, Pesic had been ignored by the US and European leadership. No doubt this stems, in part, from the perception that she and others like her constitute a vastly outnumbered minority without any real power. But as Pesic points out, "How many troops did [Czech President] Vaclav Havel command during his period of imprisionment? Who is going to build democracy if our words are both silenced by our regimes and ignored by the outside democratic world?"

CLINTON should therefore build on this initiative and invite other moderates to the White House and let them know that he is prepared to assist Serbia's reentry into the family of nations once it has chosen a more responsible leadership. And he should encourage his European counterparts to do the same.

But there is more-concrete support that Clinton can offer Serbia's beleaguered opposition: He can help establish independent broadcast media directed toward the former Yugoslavia that would make it easier to subdue the war frenzy raging there. Most observers attribute Milosevic's continued popularity in part to his ability to manipulate popular perceptions throughout the broadcast media. Recently, for instance, Radio-TV Serbia claimed that the 56 Muslims who died in Srebrenica after fierce Serb shelling of the Bosnian town were in fact Serbs who had been tortured before they were killed.

Such bald lies must be countered if there is to be any chance of dampening the hysteria that fuels support for Milosevic and his war.

Support for the anti-nationalist opposition in Serbia offers no guarantee of an early end to the war raging in the Balkans. But it is an absolute requirement for building a stable peace in the region.

■ *Richard Caplan is New York director of the London-based Institute for War & Peace Reporting and associate editor of its bulletin, Balkan WarReport.*

US Political Leaders Must Back Clinton on Bosnia

By Dave McCurdy

WE have now entered a defining moment in American foreign policy. The administration has made its decision on Bosnia, and at the core of the new policy is the threat of military action against Serb forces. Finally, what so many observers have demanded for so long has come to pass: The United States will become fully engaged in the Balkans war.

As with our response to Saddam Hussein in August 1990, much more is at stake than the US reply to an individual aggression. The eyes of the world, and of our own citizens, are upon us. Our actions in Bosnia will be viewed as a test-case of American leadership in a new era and a new administration.

I come to this issue with the strong belief that military action is an appropriate element of US foreign policy. I endorsed the intervention in Panama and was one of the original sponsors of the legislation granting President Bush approval for Operation Desert Storm. It is a great irony that many who opposed those operations now demand action in Bosnia and rely for success on the military credibility we have built over the past decade. But this conflict shares little in common with those actions; air strikes could easily prove counterproductive.

Nonetheless, the president has made his decision. It is now incumbent upon all of us, even those with concerns about the wisdom of military intervention, to support the new policy and demonstrate that Americans are united behind the president. We must pull together in the hope that military strikes will not be required, that the threat of active US involvement will spur a diplomatic solution. Such a threat will only be credible if the president's policy obtains broad support.

US political leaders must therefore help the president to articulate his new objectives to the American people. Congress should have an opportunity to vote on the policy. Then, if Serbian forces continue or escalate their attacks, President Clinton will have a mandate to act rapidly and decisively, with military force if necessary.

This new policy is banking on the idea that the Serbs will find the Vance-Owen plan more palatable than US smart bombs.

Vance-Owen, after all, would ratify Serb control of some 40 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina – less than the 70 percent they control now, but perhaps more than they would end up with after a clash with US and allied military units. And once Vance-Owen is in place, Serbia can get out from under the crushing international embargo that is strangling its economy. This was a tempting deal for Serbia even before the threat of air strikes, a threat that may well tip the balance.

At the same time, we must keep in mind the dangers to abandoning the neutral United Nations process and taking sides in Bosnia. We could alienate the Europeans and Russians, accelerate the Serb offensive, and create sparks in the true Balkan tinderboxes of Croatia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

We should, therefore, not rush into strikes. Instead we should allow the threat of military action to work on the negotiating process for days and weeks. The threat of some undefined application of force may accomplish far more than actual air strikes.

In this operation, we are betting that our success in those instances where we had clear military objectives – Panama, Desert Storm – will bring about a political outcome in an area where there are no such objectives. I think the threat will work, that a political solution will emerge in coming days and weeks. But if it does not, we must be prepared for a long commitment.

Meanwhile, the American people and their political leaders should take to heart the true lesson of the Bosnia case: In future crises, the US must be prepared to act much more rapidly. At the outset of the Balkans war, the threat of immediate military action against the Serbs might have prevented much of the subsequent blood bath, and I called for such action in May 1992. Instead, the West wasted a year and acquiesced to Serb aggression.

Advocates of action by the European Community or the UN need to face the sobering reality that the decisive choices were once again left to the US. Recognizing this fact, US political leaders should be prepared to move more quickly next time, secure in the knowledge that waiting will probably produce no alternative to US action.

More than a week ago, Zbigniew Brzezinski speculated on "Meet the Press" about the consequences of inaction in Bosnia. If the West did not move boldly, he said, "the international order will be gradually attrited, and the Clinton administration will be marginalized."

On the same program, Sen. Joseph Biden Jr. (D) of Delaware, was more blunt: "If we don't act, you're going to see more Bosnias than you've ever contemplated."

At the time, I disagreed. Now the die has been cast. The world is watching. If inaction held its risks, the consequences of failure – of American arms, of American nerve, of American presidential leadership – would be far worse.

The president has made his choice, and we must ensure that he succeeds.

■ *Rep. Dave McCurdy (D) of Oklahoma is a member of the Armed Services Committee.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Press Ahead on Bosnia

BY sending US Secretary of State Warren Christopher abroad with a military action plan on Bosnia, President Clinton is showing resolve. The White House move seems serious, and it deals with the stickiest problem in Europe in a way the Bush administration never did. Pushing ahead with a strong plan to help stop a genocide and the spread of barbarism is as brave and noble as anything the president has done in his young term – coming, as it does, in the middle of a strident debate about the advisability and effectiveness of military action, and with a tough domestic agenda to attend to. Americans should take note.

But any applause must be short. Despite the signature of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on a peace plan on Sunday in Athens, Serb forces continue to fight and kill. Serbs are active in eastern and northern Bosnia. Photos from Srebrenica of women and children with war wounds show the means the Serb units are prepared to use. The stark fact is, Bosnians – the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats who advocate a peaceful, multiethnic state – may not have more than a month or two to survive. They need immediate help. The air strikes Mr. Clinton reportedly proposes on Serb positions are necessary to buy time for the Bosnians to organize and defend their towns, homes, and families from the well-equipped Serbs.

A limited but sustained policy to halt a genocide in Bosnia that is destablizing Europe is not going too far. Action also would tell the Croats their own recent butchery of Bosnians won't be tolerated.

With the West at the brink of action, Serb President Slobodan Milosevic will try to stall Clinton. His actions show him to be a master manipulator. For two years his strategy has been to divide the allies and stall for time. Serbia took 40 percent of Croatia and 70 percent of Bosnia while all parties negotiated. Calculating that Europe was too materially comfortable to intervene, Mr. Milosevic oversaw the deaths of 40,000 Croatians and 130,000 Bosnians. His peace front in Athens may be intended to get the British and French to ask Clinton for more time. Though both are accused of war crimes, Milosevic and Karadzic regularly play in the West's media game. We may see them limit the photos from Bosnia and reduce the killing.

Clearly, the threat of action has brought Milosevic to the table. But Mr. Christopher says, "We've heard this before." He adds that "deeds, not words" are needed from Belgrade. This is simple, appropriate logic. If Serbs want peace, they must take unambiguous steps now. They can roll back their forces, remove their heavy guns, and stop the killing, raping, burning, and torture. They can let Bosnians return to their homes.

Of course, "deeds, not words" applies in Western capitals, too. An ultimatum to the Serbs should be next. Milosevic wants to stall. Clinton must urge Europe along. Critics say without a clear endgame – a guaranteed success and a quick exit – allies should not intervene. Yet such neat outcomes are rare. Bosnia is not an isolated crisis in a stable world. Rather, as Christopher says, the crisis is at "the heart of Europe's future" and the US is involved for reasons of "conscience" and "strategic interest."

EDITORIALS

It is right to link moral and strategic aims. Responding to a systematic genocide is not just a policy option. It can shape the character of our times much as the Berlin Airlift or the Marshall Plan did in the postwar years. Tolerance, democracy, and civility are based on actions taken.

Critics worry that action in Bosnia will end in a Vietnam-like "quagmire." Negative outcomes must be weighed. However, the main quagmire argument derives from the noble fight of Tito's partisans against the Nazis. The cases, however, are very different. Tito's partisans were a liberating army. Bosnian Serbs are a less motivated renegade army. Partisans had local support. Bosnian Serbs are the enemy of local towns. Tito's forces were heavily supplied and advised by the Allies. Bosnian Serbs are not.

Air strikes giving Bosnians time to arm won't require ground troops. Western troops will be needed if "safe havens" are established. Safe havens (such as Kurds had in Iraq after the Gulf war) are desirable and could be stirring symbols of Western resolve.

Before acting, the US must make it clear it does not oppose the Serb people, but extremist leaders and acts of atrocity. Serbs have a deservedly proud memory of aligning with the Allies. They must be urged to do so again for the sake of their own future as well as that of the West.

A Step Forward in Kansas City

THE objective of stemming the tide of urban gang violence has come a small step closer with the end of last weekend's National Urban peace and Justice Summit in Kansas City, Mo.

Current and former gang members from 26 cities, along with government officials and business, community, and religious leaders, gathered for three days to focus on extending a truce that followed last year's riots in South Central Los Angeles. The riots were touched off when four L.A. police officers were found not guilty of charges stemming from the beating of motorist Rodney King.

Comments from some participants suggest that three factors helped prepare the ground for the meeting, which was organized by Mayor Emanuel Cleaver: economics, as some gang members and former members open legitimate businesses, giving them a greater stake in neighborhood stability; demographics, as older members begin to raise families and become acutely aware of the danger their children face from drive-by shootings; and battle fatigue, as some members see the futility of burying increasing numbers of their friends who have fallen to gang violence.

The remedies offered are familiar: jobs in the inner city, a more effective crackdown on police brutality, and sufficient funding for local groups trying to provide alternatives to gangs. But they deserve added attention coming from members of opposing gangs who make these points together and at summit tables rather than in the streets.

It remains to be seen how effectively the sentiments expressed in Kansas City find their way to the streets. Organizers have called for a similar gathering in Washington, although no date is set.

Gangs are unlikely to vanish. Some argue that if they can be turned to constructive, nonviolent activities, they can become vehicles for service rather than suffering. But if society fails to respond to the legitimate needs of inner-city America, the Kansas City gathering and the truce run the risk of becoming footnotes rather than turning points.

Learning vs. Teaching in Today's Universities

I am disappointed with your editorial "Put Scholars Before Dollars," April 12: The purpose of a university is not teaching; it is learning. Faculty members at outstanding universities learn by doing research, giving papers, attending conferences, and consulting in their field. They do this in order to help students learn. Recent discussions of higher education have omitted the students' duty to learn. Treating the student as a consumer whose success is the full responsibility of the faculty has led to grade inflation and a consequent decline in the quality of education. If students and parents give teaching a priority, let them spend their money at a small liberal arts college or a teaching university.

Virginia Davis Nordin *Lexington, Ky.*
Associate Professor
Higher Education Policy Studies
University of Kentucky

At the University of Hartford this year, we have bucked national trends by holding tuition constant, and we are focusing our resources on improving teaching and learning. We believe strongly that helping students learn is even more important than formal teaching. We expect our professors to focus on outcomes – on how well students learn and how well they apply that knowledge.

As a primarily undergraduate institution, we do use graduate students as teachers. We expect senior professors to teach at all levels and to be available to support and consult with students.

Humphrey Tonkin *W. Hartford, Conn.*
President, University of Hartford

LETTERS

NAACP and gay rights

Thank you for the Opinion page article "Black Leadership Is Ripe for Reform," April 20. It is always important to make sure leaders follow up on speeches with action. I am disappointed, however, by the author's allegation that the NAACP's endorsement of the gay rights agenda shows little regard for the black community. His reasoning is that it can't reconcile this endorsement with the "thousands of local ministers and churches that constitute the heart of communities from Harlem to East L.A...." How would he justify withholding that support from thousands of black gays and lesbians and gay and lesbian ministers who also constitute the heart of communities from Harlem to East L.A.?

Caryn-Amy E. King *Hopkinton, Mass.*